

Football World Cup

Dross turns into gold for France

Richard Williams in Lens

EVERY World Cup has to have at least one real stinker of a match. This was it, unapologetically for the people of France, who had to suffer agonies of embarrassment as their team floundered and floundered through to the last eight with an extraordinarily inept victory over the unconsidered men of Paraguay.

A sudden-death goal in the second period of extra time, scored by the veteran stopper Laurent Blanc, put an end to the goalless misery. After this painful affair, the host nation's representatives will have to do something very special to rebuild their credibility, and perhaps their self-belief. Since their quarter-final finds them opposed by Italy, the task might not be within their abilities, even though they will welcome back the inspiration of Zinedine Zidane, absent last Sunday through suspension.

Thirty years ago France met Paraguay in the World Cup and beat them 7-3. Just Fontaine scored a hat-trick, prompted by the genius of Raymond Kopa. Here, just a couple of goalkeepers away from the ninth village where Kopa was born, France again beat Paraguay, but their victory came at the end of a performance that did no honour to the tradition of French football.

Never was the term "golden goal" less appropriate. The 32-year-old Blanc, whose overall performance

was beyond reproach, will receive his nation's gratitude for maintaining the team's presence in the competition; the rest of us were merely relieved that he brought an end to this dreadful match, so bad that recent converts to the New Football will have had their enthusiasm severely tested.

After notching nine goals in their three group matches France may have thought their wellpublicised scoring problems were over. Paraguay taught them otherwise, with a performance that was like something discovered in a time capsule buried in South America 30 years ago.

Their coach, Paulo Cesar Carpegiani, is a Brazilian but he appears to brainwash his team with old videos of Estudiantes de la Plata and Boca Juniors, from the days of mass-murder cynicism. Paraguay used the full repertoire of time-wasting practices, with particular emphasis on long-range backpasses, exaggerated delays at free-kicks, play-acting after fouls real and imaginary, and general all-round sulking.

The plan was obvious. If they could keep France at bay for 90 minutes, and then do it again in extra time, they would be able to take their chances with the penalty shootout, during which their nerves would probably be in better shape than those of players burdened by the home crowd's expectations.



Ground down... Paraguay's keeper Chilavert is distraught after his team were knocked out of the tournament

The French response was nothing short of pitiful. Their defenders, as usual, erected a forbidding barrier. The forwards, however, were ponderous in movement, imprudently in execution and almost devoid of guile. And they made a hash of every chance or half-chance that came to them until Blanc, in his 71st international, succeeded where his colleagues had failed.

Also through to the last eight are Denmark, who ended the African dream by thrashing Nigeria 4-1. So international, succeeded where his colleagues had failed.

The Danes, playing with slickness and power, did not stop there. They added another two before Jay-Danesh could lead his teammates in the expected African dance. But it was too late. The supposed heavyweights were floored and out.

"It was amazing and we are drinking champagne tonight," said Bo Johansson, the Denmark coach. "It was a fantastic performance and we

naïvus in the tournament, Norway. But Africa's challenge for the championship has expired just at the moment we were expecting Nigeria to breathe vivid life into it. The reason was a brilliant performance from the Danish side.

The look on Brian Laudrup's face said all that was needed about his sides' thrilling, scintillating match in Paris. Only 11 minutes had gone and Laudrup had just side-footed the Danes two in front. He ran to the touchline to celebrate, his face was a picture of delicious disbelief.

England put their campaign back on track with a 2-0 victory over Colombia in Lens 6 from Darren Anderson and Glenn Hoddle's late goal. The Scots were out in the knockout stage in style.

But for Scotland there was such luck. Craig Brown's team looked to be in a bit of a rut when they went down 3-0 in their final group game against Greece.

can go all the way now, like Brazil. They are the best team in the world but we will give them a game. I look forward to a hot, fantastic match.

Brazil beat Chile in Paris 2-0, two goals each from Ronaldo and Ronaldo. Ronaldo, who had been the Chileans' only goal, had settled, Italy continued their progress by seeing off Norway 1-0. Claudio Vieri registering his fifth goal for the tournament for the Azzurri.

In Montpellier, Germany came from behind to defeat Mexico. After Luis Hernandez had put Mexicans in front early in a second half, Berti Vogts came back strongly and an equaliser strike from Jürgen Klinsmann and a header from Oliver Bierhoff secured them a quarter-final against either Croatia or Romania.

Holland, 2-1 winners in Yugoslavia, had Edgar Davids thank for an injury time winner. Toulouse, Guus Hiddink's men, appeared in control at half-time. The reason was a brilliant performance from the Danish side.

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Orange Order officials come up against barricades in Drumcree last Sunday

Ulster faces roadblock to peace

John Mullin
OYALIST protesters last Sunday blocked dozens of roads in Belfast with blazing vehicles after Orangemen were blocked from walking their traditional route back into Drumcree, County Armagh, following an annual church service at nearby Drumcree.

More than 1,400 Portadown Orangemen camped outside Drumcree church. They vowed to stay there until they are allowed to march down the nationalist Garvaghy Road, their traditional route since 1807.

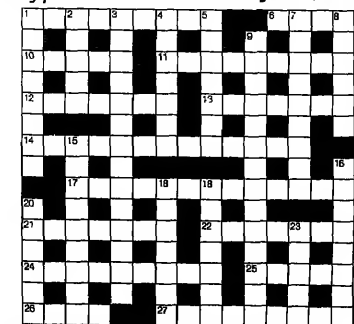
Mr Graham said: "We recognise the very deep sense of hurt that exists in the Orange community. We are trying to show that, just as we wanted to break the cycle as far as Drumcree is concerned, we think it sensible to break the cycle on Lower Ormeau Road."

On Monday all public transport in Northern Ireland was cancelled. In Belfast cars were hijacked and police were fired upon. Barricades were set up and snipers were positioned. Police stations were attacked and there was rioting in several towns.

The "Parades Commission" ruled that 17 of 28 Orange marches next week should be re-routed or restricted.

The Ulster Unionist party leader, David Trimble, whose Upper Banat constituency

Cryptic crossword by Janus



- Across
- 1 Sporting fixtures the devious may consider movable (9)
 - 6 Leave out discretion on object (1)
 - 10 Test to discover content of cracker (5)
 - 11 Insect of help on see trip (3)
 - 12 Authority providing pass badly torn inside (7)
 - 13 Criminal bringing crowds to Ireland (7)
 - 14 Agreeing with special reporter (13)
 - 17 Have about material couturier gives pub landlady (4,5)

- Down
- 2 Last sea to be featured in map collectors (7)
 - 22 One who interlards with fruit, it is said (7)
 - 24 Bird-scarer accepting sliding tea on royal bodyguard (9)
 - 25 An actor's clubs (5)
 - 26 A psychic phenomenon rejected by part of church (4)
 - 27 Count palatine's friend's final destination (9)

Motor Racing French Grand Prix

Coulthard pays price for fuel

Alain Henry at Magny Cours
DAVID COULTHARD'S World Championship prospects stumbled a potentially crippling broadside in the French Grand Prix here at the Circuit de Nevers last Sunday when a succession of technical hitches while refuelling his McLaren-Mercedes relegated him from what might have been a strong second place to a distant sixth at the end.

The race saw Michael Schumacher and Eddie Irvine post Ferrari's first one-two since Alain Prost and Nigel Mansell dominated the podium in the 1980 Spanish Grand Prix at Jerez.

Coulthard, who had hoped to kick-start his faltering championship campaign with a win, ran fourth until his first pit stop on lap 22 when there was a major problem with a refuelling rig, which meant he resumed off the pace.

The more shabbily frustrating stops on laps 55, 56 and 63 of the 71-lap race dropped him to eighth. Yet he re-took sixth from Jean Alesi's Sauber on his last lap to claim the final point of the day, following his teammate Mika Häkkinen's third, Jacques Villeneuve's fourth and Williams' and Alexander Wurz's fifth for Benetton.

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The Guardian Weekly

Asia's masses shift against the West

COMMENT
Martin Wooliscott

WHEN New York Times correspondent Hallett Abend first arrived in Beijing in 1956 he told the United States minister there that he planned to stay in Asia six months or so "until affairs here finally settle down".

About later wrote that the American diplomat laughed for a long time in a "disconcerting" way, and then suggested that if he wished to stay until affairs settled down he had better buy a plot of land for his tomb outside the city and begin "adorn[ing] it by planting pines and willow trees".

of the common people. What we always measure progress by the gold courses built for the rich?"

Similar sentiments have been expressed by the new Thai, South Korean and Indonesian leaders. The darker side of the populist tilt is seen when leaders such as Mahatma Mohandas in Malaysia imply that Asian economies have been deliberately destroyed by speculators and by Western capitalists, and "even governments". "We are pushed to become a backward, weak race that is recognised and having to serve others," Mahatma said at the recent conference of the Malaysian ruling party.

Asian politicians are using the forces of nationalism to deflect criticism and divert the anger, real or potential, of populations that are already suffering greatly and will almost certainly suffer more in the future. During Bill Clinton's visit to China, Jiang Zemin took the calculated risk of allowing public debate on Tiananmen and on democracy because, it may be argued, he thought Chinese resistance to being told what to do by outsiders would balance popular doubts about the party's policies.

The little book that caused controversy in Japan a few years ago, *The Japan That Can Say No*, which was mainly about standing up to the continued on page 4

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Fascists by any other name 5

Learning to love stress 27

Austria	AS30	Mytia	800
Belgium	BF80	Netherlands	G 5
Denmark	DK17	Norway	NK 16
Finland	FM 10	Portugal	E300
France	FF 14	Saudi Arabia	SR 6,50
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Trunk calls to the future

Paul Evans

IMAGINE a yoghurt pot on the kitchen window sill of every home in Britain. In each pot is a handful of soil. And growing out of that soil a seedling tree. It would be not only a contribution to doubling the tree cover of the British Isles, which is the lowest in Europe, it would also give people a stake in the success of the new plantings. This is the millennial vision of Trees of Time and Place, an organisation dedicated to getting public participation in gift to future generations.

Whether it's from the yoghurt pot method, or the mass plantings by local authorities and conservation bodies, the source of the seedlings almost as much as the trees themselves. Since the early 1970s almost all trees and shrubs planted in Britain have come from seed source from abroad. Even plantings described as native or indigenous species have their origins in continental Europe and it's not clear what ecological influence this has on the British wildlife that depends on them.

But does it really matter if we only select seeds of local provenance? Will this enhance local wildlife? And will using trees with a local history strengthen the sense of place for local people? To discuss all this, Trees of Time and Place, together with the National Urban Forestry Unit, ran a conference recently in Wolverhampton.

This was a gathering of the tree club: foresters, conservationists, growers, community groups, park officers, landscape architects, countryside managers, ecologists, all enthusiastically discussing ways of affixing the emphasis from imported tree seed to growing trees with local ecological and cultural significance. However, from outside the conference, there were concerns raised about the preoccupation with native species and a suspicion that the "native vs alien" tree debate conceals a worrying xenophobia.



ILLUSTRATION: BARRY LARSON

What is truly native and what is of local significance is a fascinating and complicated question. Dr Oliver Rackham, doyen of woodland ecologists, warned that what many assume to be native and wild trees are from them. People have been messing about with woodland trees for centuries. Iron Age people selected one particular type of elm which they grew extensively across central England.

The English elm was a common tree used in the construction of the 19th-century houses and it was wiped out. Only isolated genetic variations of the species now survive in places such as East Anglia. Since the 18th century woodland oaks were largely replaced by strains of "super-trees" good for timber production but of limited genetic variation. Strangely, it seems that wild oak varieties have lost their ability to regenerate in the

old oak woods, and it is oaks growing on derelict land that are carrying the wild genes into the future.

We have been influencing the genetic characteristics of our woods for more than 300 years. The beauty of wild oaks lies in their oddity and variability: their ecological relationships with the many species of insects, plants, fungi, birds and mammals that depend on them; and the cultural relationships with the people touched by their shade.

Trees matter to people in many ways. How we select what we plant has important cultural, ecological and political connotations, not just for us but for future generations. How we decide what is the right flow we decide what is the right tree in the right place defines who we are, and our sense of place. It will also influence ecological change. I wonder what the people of the future will make of our choices.

Chess Leonard Barden

SO ITS Alexei Shirov. The 26-year-old Latvian turned Spaniard completed a further metamorphosis from gifted but erratic grandmaster to serious world title aspirant when he defeated Russia's aspirant who had defeated Russia's Vladimir Kramnik 5.5 in the eliminator to decide Garry Kasparov's next challenger in a 16-game series to start in Leon on October 16.

Kramnik, aged 23 and supposedly a totally wimpy match, played a

totally wimpy match. As White, he failed to dent Shirov's Grunfeld Defence, but then he tried without a fight. One down with two to play, Kramnik overpressed and fell for a brilliant winning tactic. It was the only memorable moment of the series.

V Kramnik v V Shirov

1 d4 Nf6 2 e4 g6 3 f3 Avoiding the main line Grunfeld, d5 4 exd5 Nxd5 5 e4 Nf6 6 Nc3 Bg7 7 Bc4 0-0 8 Qd2 e5 9 d5 10 h4 b5 11 Be2 cxd5 12 e7 Nbd7 13 d6 Putting the question: does the passed d pawn offer the weak square around the W2 N6? 14 Bg5 Re8 15 Rd1 15-0-0 bypasses the coming tactics. Be6 16 Nh3 Ne4 17 Bxc4 Bxc4 18 b3 Ba8 19 Nd3

Much better is 19 f7 Re6 30 Nd5 Bb5 21 Ne7 when Black must give up the exchange and then try to draw. 22 d6 Qc8 23 Qc2 Qc3 24 Nd5 25 Qd1 Qd7 White is in trouble. Bxf7 26 Qd1 Qd7 White hoped for Re2 Bxf7 exd7 27 Kf2 Re2 28 Qd2 exd7 29 b6 and wins, but this rook sacrifice is devastating.

22 d6 Qc8 23 Re8 Suddenly the white king is horribly exposed. 1f3 Bxf7 exd7 28 Qd1 Qd7 White hoped for Re2 Bxf7 exd7 27 Kf2 Re2 28 Qd2 exd7 29 b6 and wins, but this rook sacrifice is devastating.

No 2529: Black moves first. 1d1 h3g3 Qxg2 2 Qx2 Qx2 mate. 1d1 h3g3 Qxg2 2 Qx2 Qx2 mate. 1d1 h3g3 Qxg2 2 Qx2 Qx2 mate.

24... Bxb4 25 Kd2 26 Kd2 27 Kd2 28 Kd2 29 Kd2 30 Kd2 31 Kd2 32 Kd2 33 Kd2 34 Kd2 35 Kd2 36 Kd2 37 Kd2 38 Kd2 39 Kd2 40 Kd2 41 Kd2 42 Kd2 43 Kd2 44 Kd2 45 Kd2 46 Kd2 47 Kd2 48 Kd2 49 Kd2 50 Kd2 51 Kd2 52 Kd2 53 Kd2 54 Kd2 55 Kd2 56 Kd2 57 Kd2 58 Kd2 59 Kd2 60 Kd2 61 Kd2 62 Kd2 63 Kd2 64 Kd2 65 Kd2 66 Kd2 67 Kd2 68 Kd2 69 Kd2 70 Kd2 71 Kd2 72 Kd2 73 Kd2 74 Kd2 75 Kd2 76 Kd2 77 Kd2 78 Kd2 79 Kd2 80 Kd2 81 Kd2 82 Kd2 83 Kd2 84 Kd2 85 Kd2 86 Kd2 87 Kd2 88 Kd2 89 Kd2 90 Kd2 91 Kd2 92 Kd2 93 Kd2 94 Kd2 95 Kd2 96 Kd2 97 Kd2 98 Kd2 99 Kd2 100 Kd2 101 Kd2 102 Kd2 103 Kd2 104 Kd2 105 Kd2 106 Kd2 107 Kd2 108 Kd2 109 Kd2 110 Kd2 111 Kd2 112 Kd2 113 Kd2 114 Kd2 115 Kd2 116 Kd2 117 Kd2 118 Kd2 119 Kd2 120 Kd2 121 Kd2 122 Kd2 123 Kd2 124 Kd2 125 Kd2 126 Kd2 127 Kd2 128 Kd2 129 Kd2 130 Kd2 131 Kd2 132 Kd2 133 Kd2 134 Kd2 135 Kd2 136 Kd2 137 Kd2 138 Kd2 139 Kd2 140 Kd2 141 Kd2 142 Kd2 143 Kd2 144 Kd2 145 Kd2 146 Kd2 147 Kd2 148 Kd2 149 Kd2 150 Kd2 151 Kd2 152 Kd2 153 Kd2 154 Kd2 155 Kd2 156 Kd2 157 Kd2 158 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2 LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Natural selection can be coloured by prejudice

I WAS struck by some provocative links between Gary Young's report on racism in Europe (On a journey through borders of late, June 28) and Michael Bervyn-Jones's thoughts on racialised resources (Life's torn losers, June 28).

Both pieces were vividly and accessibly written, and both raised complex and important issues. But the similarity ended there, with Young's nuanced sensitivity in stark contrast to the simplistic and morally problematic approach of Bervyn-Jones.

Urging us to think hard about the "misleading messages" that advances in health-care technology have brought us, Bervyn-Jones argues that such "nature does not allow other living things to break from barren or otherwise defective stock", it is simply "selfish, feeble, immoral and non-sensical not to accept sterility if we know we have faulty genes".

I found it particularly painful to have this argument physically juxtaposed to Young's disturbing and meticulous chronicle of the flight across so many European borders.

Bervyn-Jones's approach ignores the depressing tendency of the human psyche to assign judgments of fault to the point in time in our current world of human domination over nature, it is people who make the decisions about what counts as "defective stock".

And people, as Young so devastatingly shows, are more apt than ever to project their worst prejudices into such decisions.

Moreover, the fact that insurance companies are beginning to factor "faulty genes" into premium calculations, or that some individuals are turning to the courts for compensation in the inheritance of such part for the European anti-racism programme (Britain helps Europe score legal own-goal, June 21).

There is no causal link, but the two decisions are none the less revealing in exposing the "natural selection" process unfolding in the European institutional framework.

Bervyn-Jones's call for facing up to hard issues is well made. But, frankly, for negotiating treacherous waters such as those where both these writers venture, I would choose Young as my guide in a heartbeat.

*Brwyn Morgan,
San Francisco, California, USA*

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stand on IVF is extraordinary - who is to say that the reason for difficulty in conceiving is necessarily an hereditary defect that will bring harm to the world? And to cry on by saying it is "selfish, feeble, immoral and non-sensical" for those families to consider using artificial means to conceive is, well, "feeble, immoral".

Similarly, how can we justify advocating destruction by the state of those considered to be detrimental to society? It neatly worked for the Jews, and "ethnic cleansing" (our new-age euphemism for genocide) is increasingly popular.

The spotlight should not, at this time, be on individual decisions but on the way in which those decisions are becoming rapidly constrained by the very changes - all too little debated - in legal and financial institutions to which Bervyn-Jones points.

We have recently been shown another painful justification for using other European institutions said yes to legislative support for parenting genes, they scuttled budgetary support for the European anti-racism programme (Britain helps Europe score legal own-goal, June 21).

There is no causal link, but the two decisions are none the less revealing in exposing the "natural selection" process unfolding in the European institutional framework. Bervyn-Jones's call for facing up to hard issues is well made. But, frankly, for negotiating treacherous waters such as those where both these writers venture, I would choose Young as my guide in a heartbeat.

*Brwyn Morgan,
San Francisco, California, USA*

THE views expressed by Michael Bervyn-Jones seem very familiar. On reconstruction of very immature babies has a point: the statistics are clear even if individual decisions are painful. But his

stand on IVF is extraordinary - who is to say that the reason for difficulty in conceiving is necessarily an hereditary defect that will bring harm to the world? And to cry on by saying it is "selfish, feeble, immoral and non-sensical" for those families to consider using artificial means to conceive is, well, "feeble, immoral".

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standing humankind of Hitler and his henchmen. Nothing could be more insulting or further from the truth. The Swiss Federal Council, parliament and, most important of all, the Swiss people rejected Nazism decisively.

The anti-Semitism of justice minister Von Steiger and his police chief, Heinrich Rothmund, cannot be denied. But even excerpts cited by Schom to document Von Steiger's hostility to Jews make clear that his hardline policies lacked public backing. The sweeping Schom statement that all seven members of the Swiss wartime federal council were Nazi sympathisers and anti-Semitic totally lacks credibility.

Federal council wartime decrees cracked down on Nazi front groups. By 1941 the German foreign minister, Paul Hunsbarger, summed up the official reaction in a memo. It noted that:

"The Führer described Switzerland as having the most repugnant people and the most lamentable form of state. The Swiss are mortal enemies of the new Germany."

*Thomas G. Borer,
Embassy of Switzerland, London*

In the doldrums Down Under

SUPPOSE it was almost inevitable that some of our most disagreeable habits would arise as a result of recent political disturbances. What must be understood is the rise of Pauline Hanson and her brand of simplistic policy is a reflection of policy ineluctance. As in other nations the drift to downsizing, unentertained free trade and right-wing policies have not been to the benefit of all citizens. It has meant poor distribution of wealth, and manifested itself in insecurity and social tension.

What readers must understand is that over the past quarter of a century Aussilians have made great strides in opening up, culturally, and socially, and have endeavoured to improve on the introduction that once existed. Indeed much has been achieved. But since the election of the current federal administration officials received orders that no Jew could be eligible for political asylum, sealing the fate of thousands.

Then there were the medical teams sent by Switzerland to assist the Nazis on the Eastern Front. When one returning physician, Dr Rudolf Bucher, attempted to speak out against the mass murder of Jews he had witnessed, he was condemned for violating Swiss neutrality and stripped of his army commission.

And what about the dozens of photographs uncovered in the Library of Congress of pro-Nazi rallies held in 1941 and 1942 in Basel, Zurich, Lucerne, Biel, Leyman, and attended by thousands where was the government to protect neutrality?

*Bobbi Morris Hirt,
Dean, Simon Wiesenthal Centre,
Los Angeles, California*

THE second report by Alan Schom for the Simon Wiesenthal Centre in Los Angeles has just appeared. The first Schom report in January thoroughly discredited its author. By likening Swiss wartime refugee camps to Nazi concentration camps, it invoked the condemnation of ageing residents of those Swiss camps (see review and gentiles).

New Schom's follow-up report paints the Swiss government as

standing humankind of Hitler and his henchmen. Nothing could be more insulting or further from the truth. The Swiss Federal Council, parliament and, most important of all, the Swiss people rejected Nazism decisively.

Briefly

NEVER cease to be fascinated by the way politicians and journalists manipulate language to distort the truth. A current example is the way the subject is India or Pakistan they speak of nuclear bombs, "weapons of mass destruction". This term has traditionally meant atomic bombs, but nowadays it seems it is being used to cover up the fact we know full well, that Saddam Hussein has not got them, while insinuating that he could have something comparably horrific whatever that might be in order to "justify" our continued persecution of his country.

*Dr R. Cade,
Santo Domingo, Dominican Republic*

IT IS reassuring that significant tests of human wisdom can be reduced to mere personality clashes. The case against genetically modified crops is clear. One only needs to look at the basic footprints of life. GM is not just an extension of the selection of plants that humans have always done - it is, in fact, a new selection. Cross-fertilisation will render irrelevant current squabbles over the labelling of foods - they will soon all be GM.

*John Cade,
Maitland, France*

NEVER seen anyone so accurately nail the Christian/Secular religious nonsense to the wall as Polly Toynbee (May 31). It is a shame if she were over here in the United States, the Catholics and other Christians would be so busy howling her lamb at the stake. I also doubt that such an article would be printed by any major newspaper, for fear of the repercussions.

Of course when discussing the absurdity of religious superstition and hypocrisy, one certainly should not leave out mention of our Islamic and Hindu brethren, although I can understand why everyone is nervous about saying anything about Islam. My congratulations to the Guardian Weekly and to Ma Toynbee for this breath of fresh air.

*James MacDiarmid,
Moorestown, New Jersey, USA*

HURRAH for Robin Cook and his ethical policy of cutting "Tiddlers" in half (June 28). What a relief! By half, you say? Oh dear, and I was so impressed.

*Philip Lloyd Lewis,
Bournemouth*

OVER the past year or two numerous world leaders, both political and religious, have apologised on behalf of their constituencies for the actions of previous generations. In Australia, where the atrocities visited upon the indigenous people have been judged on a par with the worst of colonial and post-colonial oppression, calls for a similar governmental apology on behalf of the perpetrating culture have consistently fallen on deaf ears (A sorry but true story, June 7).

This government has not the slightest notion of compassion, justice or history.

*John Arnold-Nott,
Camberley, Australia*

THE Pope has taken a dramatic step to quell liberal dissent in the Vatican by calling for a similar expression of faith to Catholic teaching on morally contested issues such as "gay marriage" for those who fall to "just punishment" for those who fall to "just punishment".

The document defines a category of "illegitimate" teachings for all full communion Catholics to remain "in full communion" with the church. The teachings, which include abortion, contraception, and sexual activity outside marriage, are to be regarded as "illegitimate".

Abubakar promises democracy date

SENIOR United States envoy in Nigeria, James A. Baker, said on Tuesday that the basis for moving Nigeria to a democratic date would be the results of the 1993 election. Baker said that the basis for moving Nigeria to a democratic date would be the results of the 1993 election. Baker said that the basis for moving Nigeria to a democratic date would be the results of the 1993 election.

*James A. Baker,
Senior United States envoy in Nigeria*

Abacha, whose sudden death last month has transformed Nigerian politics.

General Abacha will spell out the basis for moving Nigeria to a democratic date would be the results of the 1993 election. Baker said that the basis for moving Nigeria to a democratic date would be the results of the 1993 election.

Officials said that the under-secretary of state, Thomas Pickering, who is leading the biggest official US delegation to Nigeria for years, was expected to hold talks with the country's military ruler, General Abdulsalam Abacha.

General Abacha, a former chief of state, has promised elections in October, but as he was the only candidate of the five officially-approved parties, they were expected to be a meaningless sham.

Nigeria-watchers have been surprised at the pace of change since Gen Abacha, a former chief of state, has promised elections in October, but as he was the only candidate of the five officially-approved parties, they were expected to be a meaningless sham.

Gen Abacha has tried to make a clean break with the Abacha regime. He has sacked advisers who were particularly close to the former strongman, and taken large

the imports out of the hands of Abacha's cronies.

Chief Abacha's case stretched regional tensions to near breaking point. Nigeria fought an ethnic-based civil war in the 1960s in which more than 1 million died. Chief Abacha and most of his supporters are from the south. Gen Abacha is from the north, as was Abacha.

Chief Abacha's followers, many of whom were detained or beaten by the security forces, are still wary of Gen Abacha and say Nigerians and foreigners should be too. And they insist that they do not believe the chief has renounced his clan.

"He certainly couldn't have done it," said Abacha's supporters, who are the opposition National Democratic Coalition. "If he said so in captivity, that agreement cannot be binding because it is made under duress."

Comment, page 12

India 'may sign nuclear ban treaty'

Summa Goldenberg in New Delhi and Ian Black in London

INDIA is signalling a new readiness to sign the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty, but is demanding an end to sanctions and embargoes on the development of nuclear technology.

The Indian foreign minister, Inderjit Singh, said that the government officials that New Delhi would consider signing the treaty, which it accuses of "discriminating against India".

The willingness to discuss the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty does not extend to the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, which New Delhi argues was made obsolete by its five test blasts.

However, officials said New Delhi would be willing to turn its moratorium on nuclear tests into a binding agreement and to guarantee not to transfer technology.

Some experts argue that President Bill Clinton has staked so much on his reputation on arms control treaties that Washington longer enjoys much leverage over New Delhi. Diplomats say India's government has turned inward and is picking its coalition partners to stay in power.

The French supreme court ruled that knowingly transmitting the AIDS virus was not the same as murder, making it highly unlikely that three former politicians will ever be charged for the "infamous blood" scandal in 1985, in which about 400 people died after receiving blood infected with the HIV virus.

THE world's tallest man, at 2.35 m, Alan Channay from Pakistan, has died in the United States of kidney failure aged 42.

AMERICA'S singing cowboy, Roy Rogers, who epitomised decency in a bygone era, has died aged 86.

INTERNATIONAL NEWS 3

The Week

THE Swiss government threatened to take the United States to the World Trade Organisation as it made local authorities in the US announce sanctions against Swiss banks accused of misappropriating the assets of Holocaust victims.

Washington Post, page 17

ATTEMPTS by the Russian prime minister, Sergei Kiriyenko, to crack down on tax evasion descended into chaos and threatened to imperil a desperately needed IMF rescue package.

United States and the United States jet came under apparent threat of attack.

THE pilot and navigator of the United States jet that aliced through a cable-car wire in the Italian Alps in February, sending 20 skiers to their deaths, are to be court-martialled for negligent homicide.

THE United Nations secretary-general, Kofi Annan, said in a surprise announcement that he was sending a top-level fact-finding mission to Algeria, which until now has been reluctant to open its domestic turmoil to outside scrutiny.

HUNDREDS of Berber activists protested in Algeria after the government began enforcing a new law that makes Arabic compulsory for all official business. The demonstrators called for recognition of Tamazight as an official language too.

MEXICO'S government has paid nearly \$230,000 in compensation to families of about 45 Indians massacred last December by paramilitaries in the state of Chiapas and 26 others who were wounded.

HONG KONG'S Kai Tak airport, famous for its vertiginous approach over Kowloon, was closed as the new Chep Lap Kok airport opened.

THE French supreme court ruled that knowingly transmitting the AIDS virus was not the same as murder, making it highly unlikely that three former politicians will ever be charged for the "infamous blood" scandal in 1985, in which about 400 people died after receiving blood infected with the HIV virus.

THE world's tallest man, at 2.35 m, Alan Channay from Pakistan, has died in the United States of kidney failure aged 42.

AMERICA'S singing cowboy, Roy Rogers, who epitomised decency in a bygone era, has died aged 86.

Abubakar promises democracy date

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Officials said that the under-secretary of state, Thomas Pickering, who is leading the biggest official US delegation to Nigeria for years, was expected to hold talks with the country's military ruler, General Abdulsalam Abacha.

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Gen Abacha has tried to make a clean break with the Abacha regime. He has sacked advisers who were particularly close to the former strongman, and taken large

the imports out of the hands of Abacha's cronies.

Chief Abacha's case stretched regional tensions to near breaking point. Nigeria fought an ethnic-based civil war in the 1960s in which more than 1 million died. Chief Abacha and most of his supporters are from the south. Gen Abacha is from the north, as was Abacha.

Chief Abacha's followers, many of whom were detained or beaten by the security forces, are still wary of Gen Abacha and say Nigerians and foreigners should be too. And they insist that they do not believe the chief has renounced his clan.

"He certainly couldn't have done it," said Abacha's supporters, who are the opposition National Democratic Coalition. "If he said so in captivity, that agreement cannot be binding because it is made under duress."

Comment, page 12

India 'may sign nuclear ban treaty'

Summa Goldenberg in New Delhi and Ian Black in London

INDIA is signalling a new readiness to sign the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty, but is demanding an end to sanctions and embargoes on the development of nuclear technology.

The Indian foreign minister, Inderjit Singh, said that the government officials that New Delhi would consider signing the treaty, which it accuses of "discriminating against India".

The willingness to discuss the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty does not extend to the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, which New Delhi argues was made obsolete by its five test blasts.

However, officials said New Delhi would be willing to turn its moratorium on nuclear tests into a binding agreement and to guarantee not to transfer technology.

Some experts argue that President Bill Clinton has staked so much on his reputation on arms control treaties that Washington longer enjoys much leverage over New Delhi. Diplomats say India's government has turned inward and is picking its coalition partners to stay in power.

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Israeli army chief attacks Netanyahu

Julian Borger in Jerusalem

ISRAEL'S outgoing army commander appeared to cut a large chunk of ground from under Benjamin Netanyahu's negotiating position last week when he said that agreeing to a United States proposal to cede 13 per cent of the West Bank would not necessarily endanger national security.

But the prime minister's office did not reject the remarks outright and argued that proof of Palestinian "peaceful intent" might persuade it to make "progress" on this year. Mr Netanyahu has infuriated US media by rejecting the 13 per cent compromise for the next phase, with the US saying the Israeli prime minister suggested it in the first place.

Mr Netanyahu has shrugged off international criticism, insisting that only Israel can determine its own security needs. He has offered only 9 per cent of the West Bank officially, plus 2 per cent in informal bargaining. Agreement on the re-deployment is essential for the resumption of broader peace talks, which have been stalled for the past 16 months.

In his last week as army chief of staff, Lieutenant-General Amnon Shuhav appeared to take direct aim at Mr Netanyahu's security negotiating strategy in a string of farewell press interviews.

"The way I see it, the difference between 11 and 13 per cent, and 13 per cent... it's not that it is trivial, not that it is unimportant, but it is certainly not very, very dramatic," he told army radio. "The main thing is not only the size of the land given back, but under what conditions and in what atmosphere."

The prime minister's spokesman, David Bar-Ilan, claimed the general's remarks did not contradict government policy. "If we felt we could have confidence in the peaceful intent of the Palestinian Authority, we could consider taking risks when it comes to territory," Mr Bar-Ilan said.

Although the government's appraisal of Palestinian "peaceful intent" is likely to be far more demanding than that of the Israeli opposition or US diplomats, analysts said Mr Bar-Ilan's confirmation that percentage limits on Israeli withdrawal were not necessarily endangering national security.

Asia shifts against West

Continued from page 1

Americans, has been a model for Asian countries, including China. Should all this be condemned? Hardly, since it is politics everywhere to play with these forces of local resentment. It is the United States, Europe, and Australia as well as Asia. And, again, because criticism of the West is not without a basis. The way view that currency flows are like the weather and not beyond all but minimal controls is one reason for Asia's troubles. Another, according to an increasingly large constituency, is the Western orthodox financial medicine prescribed by the International Monetary Fund has made the crisis worse.

The strange reversal of the last

12 months is that where once economics led and politics lagged behind, it is now the other way round. Asian economic change the US and China have tried to create a relationship and to sign it, if not yet to sign it, during Clinton's trip. Whether they really have done so, and if they have, what it amounts to, is far from clear.

The US rapprochement with China, as a foundation stone for economic stability, has two important and, if they have, what it amounts to, is far from clear. When Clinton referred to Japan's problems — President Jiang and I would give priority to be able to just wave a wand and have all the way away — as if China and the US were ruffled unity in perplexity over what to do about poor little

Japan, he did a dangerous thing. His special relationship with the US as a concerned about Asia might be called by such remarks. The Joint US-Japanese operation to restore the link, launched during the Clinton trip, will, if successful, only assuage Tokyo to a limited extent.

What Clinton did to Japan he also did to Taiwan, by making a more direct reference to Taiwan's status than he had done before. The rough language about the US and Chinese foreign ministry was unprecedented.

Washington's preoccupation with China, and with its own economic needs, has also meant that the US has been reluctant to take the lead in this broader perspective to the US "engagement" with China. It is a disengagement from Asia, the

support for the original IMF package. In the past the strategic importance of Southeast Asia might have meant that Washington would have sought twice about the imposition by international financial institutions of programmes of austerity that the IMF would not dare to impose on Germany or France. The social and political consequences, especially in Indonesia, would have mattered too much for such a programme to go ahead, whatever the experts said. In South Asia the consequences of a policy too closely focused on China are already with us. In the shape of the Indian and Pakistani nuclear tests, it is at least possible, perhaps likely, that there was no reason to denigrate new relations between China and the US. But what was true more than 70 years ago, when a US representative with China led at Agha's opinion, is just as true today.

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The Libyan leader, Muammar Gaddafi, poses little threat regionally or internationally. But London and Washington are frustrated by his ability to buy influence in Africa, and cast them as the villains in the Lockerbie affair. Both accuse Tripoli of using cheap oil deals and other inducements to win support.

Africa told to uphold sanctions against Libya

BRITAIN and the United States and France have joined together in a diplomatic campaign to warn African countries not to breach the sanctions imposed by the United Nations on Libya, because of the Lockerbie air crash.

Last month the Organisation of African Unity decided at a summit in Burkina Faso that its members would stop complying with the sanctions from Sept-

ember if the Security Council failed to agree to the Lockerbie suspects being tried in a third country.

The travel and arms sanctions were renewed last week. Britain, the US and France have formally told OAU members that relations will suffer if they carry out their threat.

Britain and the US insist that the two Libyan intelligence officers accused of the 1988 bombing

of a Pan-Am airliner, which killed 270 people, must be tried under their jurisdiction.

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Howard heads off Hanson's power bid

Martin Woolcott in Sydney

THE Australian prime minister, John Howard, has almost certainly headed off an election in which the new One Nation party might have gained the balance of power in the senate, a prospect that horrified all the established parties in Australia.

Mr Howard's threat to dissolve both houses of parliament, if a bill to strip the rights of Aborigines to make claims on much of Australia's land was not passed by the senate, would very likely have led to a

labor victory, but with Pauline Hanson's One Nation in a pivotal position in the upper house.

He has now softened his bill and the independent senator who was holding up its passage has reluctantly agreed to support it.

While some aboriginal leaders lamented the shift, at least one suggested that no substantive rights had been lost. The key issue was whether aboriginal groups have a right to negotiate with mining companies proposing to work land leased from the Crown to which they have claim. Negotiation would carry the possibility of compensation.

tion. Since the mainly white farmers who now hold these leases have a vote, right, the government opposed it.

Now the right to negotiate has been replaced by what is called "equitable rights", which seems to mean that both groups will have a right to negotiate.

Aborigines on Monday were granted native title rights to the sea surrounding their traditional lands, following an historic ruling by a court in Darwin.

Comment, page 12



Keep off the grass... a resident of the suburb of Saachung in Taipei, Taiwan's capital, walks past a sculpture, entitled Shouling Alexander, in a public park. Some locals have petitioned for the sculpture to be removed, claiming it is disturbing to children and the elderly.

GUARDIAN WEEKLY
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Blackshirts don't like the F-word

They wear swastikas and hate Jews, but no one in Russia dares call them fascists. James Meek reports from Stavropol

ONE DAY Galina Tuz had a nightmare. She was in a courtroom surrounded by racist young men with close-cropped hair wearing black shirts and swastika armbands. She knew they were fascists, they knew they were fascists, the whole town knew they were fascists — yet when she tried to say so out loud, the judge seemed her of delirium and fined her the equivalent of \$20.

Like all the worst nightmares, this one really happened. Last month a judge confirmed the decision of a lower court to award damages to a blackshirted but with four prongs at the corners — was a traditional Russian National Unity party for "harm to their reputation" caused by Tuz's description of them in a local newspaper as "fascists".

The party, known as RNE from its Russian initials, has hundreds of members in the southern town of Stavropol, where it openly operates a military training school. The town is plastered with posters preaching the message of racial exclusivity and separatism for Caucasians.

Yet when Tuz took up her pen to write about the town of 300,000 — where the local German population is still growing up, and surviving their traditional lack of sympathy during the Nazi occupation — she could remember, or wanted to remember, what a fascist was.

"My intention was that they should understand that there is a race here in Stavropol which is going to resist them," said Tuz, a journalist and university teacher. "I didn't quite turn out that way because they saw that I was alone. And a woman alone on the battlefield is not a warrior."

Tuz wrote her article in reply to an interview with the local RNE leader, Andrei Dudinov, in the newspaper Stavropol'skaya Pravda. In the interview Tuz said party members were not fascists but national socialists. He accused the Jews of being responsible for "genocide" against ethnic Russians during the Soviet years.

In a chilling comment, Dudinov said the old Soviet intelligentsia should be "wholly replaced... they can be of no use whatsoever to an ethnic state".

None of this was enough for the judges to accept that Tuz had a right to call RNE members fascists. Nor was the extract from the RNE code of honour that made clear the Hitler-like role of their leader, Alexander Barkashov, who carries the title Chief Soratnik, or comrade-in-arms. "In any situation the comrade is guided only by his righteous national consciousness according to the powers given him by the Chief Soratnik," the code says. "He is not subordinate to any other laws. The comrade must always remember Russia has no friends. Anyone who forgets this is a traitor."

In court RNE members explained their swastika — like the Nazi symbol but with four prongs at the corners — was a traditional Russian religious symbol. The salute of the Barkashovist — an exact copy of the Nazi salute — was "a traditional Slavic greeting".

In an eight-page judgment in March, confirmed last month by a regional court, Judge Yelena Krivonozhko and two lay magistrates concluded that RNE's programme and publications had nothing in common with fascism "in the historical and sociological sense".

On the contrary, the materials studied demonstrated the patriotic aims of the Stavropol RNE.

As well as Tuz's fine, the paper was ordered to pay the equivalent of \$1,000. "I had the impression I was living in an alternative reality," said Tuz.

The offices of the Stavropol RNE are on one of the town's main streets, Lenin Street. There is nothing covert about them. A large red swastika hangs outside.

Inside are a handful of muscular youths, copies of the RNE newspaper Russian Order, and an older, fiercely courteous man in a green T-shirt — Yuri Andreyev, the local spokesman. Except he wasn't going to speak. "We're acting in accordance with the Constitution... The media doesn't objectively cover our activities," he said.

In a front-page interview in Russian Order, Chief Soratnik spoke about what RNE had planned for



Russian National Unity members, with swastikas similar to the Nazis but with four prongs at the corners, at a rally in Moscow.

rich Russian Jews, such as the media tycoon Vladimir Gusinsky. "We will come to power by legal means, with the broadest possible support of our people, and then, by the same legal means, seek answers from Gusinsky and others for all that they have done in Russia since 1917 for all the crimes they have committed and continue to commit," Barkashov said.

The Tuz case is now before Russia's supreme court, and the country's best-known lawyer, Genrikh Reznik, has suggested taking it to the European Court of Human Rights if necessary. But whatever happens, Tuz is leaving Stavropol for St Petersburg. Not because of fear of RNE reprisals, but because she believes the town itself has fallen her.

"I am not running from them, I am staying. I stay just to spite them," she said. "I'm running from my friends. I suggested to people that we mount some kind of campaign. Somebody

said: 'Oh, I don't think we should pay any attention; let's pretend they don't exist.' I understood I wouldn't get support."

When the trial began, Tuz said, she was surprised that none of her friends, most of them journalists, asked any questions about it. Perhaps, she believes, there was a lack of interest in what they thought was a marginal phenomenon. Tuz it was calculated far of the future.

The Barkashovist have weapons. They're training. They're even carrying out parachute jumps. And every one thinks: 'What if suddenly... perhaps they will come to power. As long as they don't touch me.'"

One acquaintance of Tuz, Volodya Ritsov, explained Stavropol's attitude: "These fascists are on the walls, sure, but what else do they do?" he said. "They don't do anything vicious or damaging. They promote anti-Semitism, but that doesn't require any tangible form either. Why

should I do anything about it? It's not my business. It's the government's."

For all RNE's anti-Semitism, there are few Jews left in Stavropol. One of the reasons the Barkashovists have so much passive support in their hostility towards *horodny* — "those not of our race" — is the tension between ethnic Russians and members of the darker-skinned Caucasian peoples, particularly the Chechens. The war in Chechnya produced a flood of ethnic Russian refugees.

"I know one family of refugees, very intelligent people, the parents taught at Gruzny university," said Tuz. "The Chechens killed their son's grandfather in front of his eyes. I can't condemn him, but he boy has joined the Barkashovist. He goes around sticking up posters."

Alexander, a police lieutenant, said he knew colleagues who had joined RNE. When I told him that Chechens in the town's market did not seem to feel threatened, he smiled. "Yes, they feel quite at home here," he said. "They've got very cocky of late."

The lieutenant, who refused to give his last name, said he didn't take the Barkashovist too seriously, but wouldn't mind them getting involved in police duties. "I'd welcome it. Particularly since they're made up of volunteers."

"Maybe their appearance means something for the older generation, but for the young generation it doesn't have the same impact. Under Hitler the Germans established order."

The Barkashovist already work with local authorities in cities such as Moscow, where they provide "security" in a public park.

Some Moscowites believe that the RNE threat is being hyped by the Kremlin to create a menace for Boris Yeltsin to target in the 2000 presidential elections. If true, it is only exposed the disturbing degree to which ordinary Russians are prepared to offer at least the support of indifference to home-grown fascism and racism.

The support does go further. The region west of Stavropol, Krasnodar, which covers all Russia's Black Sea resort areas, has elected in its governor one of the most unashamed anti-Semitic politicians in Europe, Nikolai Kondratenko.

This year, he subjected a gathering of local youth organisations to a vicious tirade against "Zionism". "Their tactic was to become as Russians, to infiltrate Russian families," he said. "For years, decades, evil was accumulated, and Russians understood nothing."

US defence bill comes to \$19 trillion

Martin Kettle in Washington

IN THE decades since the United States began to develop the atomic bomb in 1940, the government has spent over \$6,000,000,000 on nuclear arms and related technology. A new study has calculated that the US has spent more on its nuclear weapons programme than on any other single public spending programme with the exceptions of nuclear defence (\$12.9 trillion) and non-nuclear defence (\$12.9 trillion). Federal spending on nuclear weapons has exceeded spending on welfare, health and education, the report says.

The sum spent on nuclear weapons is equivalent to 162 times annual spending on Britain's National Health Service; \$5.5 trillion would be enough to provide every household in Britain with a new top-of-the-range Rolls-Royce.

The study shows that US stockpiles have been far larger than the public thought. When the then defence secretary Robert McNamara stated in 1964 that a nuclear force equivalent to 400 megatons would be enough to cause mutually assured destruction with the Soviet Union, the US stockpile already totalled 17,000 megatons.

Although the US and Russia now make no nuclear weapons, each still has some 10,000 nuclear warheads. The costs of nuclear arms will continue "for the foreseeable future," the report argues.

The Brookings study underlines how the sheer scale of expenditure

was central to the resolution of the cold war and supports a view held increasingly by historians that the US spent the USSR into defeat, especially during the Reagan presidency.

The study was not undertaken to see whether US nuclear expenditure was worth the money, said Stephen Schwartz, the chairman of the four-year research project. But it was intended to set the stage for an "honest and fully informed debate".

"The US spent vast amounts on nuclear weapons without the careful and sustained debate or oversight that are essential both to democratic practice and to sound public policy," Mr Schwartz said. "In most cases, even rudimentary standards of government policymaking and accountability were lacking."

The Brookings director, Michael Aronson, said that a central conclusion was that "government officials made little effort to ensure that limited economic resources were used as efficiently as possible so that nuclear defence could be sustained at least cost to taxpayers."

During the cold war, said Mr Schwartz, the development and deployment of nuclear weapons was frequently justified on the grounds that they were less expensive than conventional forces, when the reverse was true.

"Had the facts been known, there almost certainly would have been a debate about the wisdom," Mr Schwartz said.

But Paul Warnke, head of the arms control and disarmament agency during the Jimmy Carter presidency, disagreed. "I don't think it would have made much difference. The people were scared of the Russians, and would have spent whatever it took."

Decades of spending US government historical obligations

National defence	19.813
Social Security	7.886
Nuclear weapons, development and deployment	6.051
Nuclear security	6.549
National debt	4.783
Health	3.287
Transportation	1.700
Education, training, and scientific research	1.672
International affairs	1.528
Other federal spending	0.874
Non-nuclear defence	0.844
Overall government	6.680

The IMF: one size doesn't fit all

The tailor-made solution to economic crises may be coming apart at the seams, say **Larry Elliott** and **Alex Brummer**

FROM the offices of the International Monetary Fund in downtown Washington DC, the sunbath of the Thai baht by currency speculators last June looked like one of those brief but violent tropical storms. That great edifice, globalisation, had sprung a leak, but the problem required only running repairs.

Twelve months later, things look rather different. No longer is it a case of damp in the attic: whole rooms are deep under rising floodwaters. Amid all the soul-searching, the IMF — one of the main architects of the new world order — has come under rigorous scrutiny. A crisis that started in Thailand has affected Malaysia, Indonesia, South Korea, Japan, India, Russia, South Africa, New Zealand and Australia. Nobody knows for sure which country will be next in the firing line.

The IMF has come under fire from economists across the political spectrum. Nobel laureate Milton Friedman led the charge from the right. He accused the IMF of being interventionist, its meddling with the invisible hand of the free market preventing economies from correcting themselves.

From the economic mainstream came the charge that the IMF made



Funny money... impatient crowds demand to be allowed into the Bank Central Asia in Jakarta, hoping to withdraw money that is not there

a series of bad decisions. Reacting to its closure of Indonesian banks last autumn the Harvard economist Jeffrey Sachs said: "Instead of dousing the fire, the IMF is pouring kerosene on it."

From the left came two lines of attack: first, the IMF got it wrong about globalisation; second, that it is a cabal with the United States Treasury to force Asian countries to adopt one-size-fits-all American capitalism.

The big currency devaluations have made Asian assets cheap, while moves to secure financial liberalisation of capital will make it

child's play for US companies to pick up valuable companies at bargain-basement prices. Faced with these criticisms, the IMF fought back. In the Financial Times earlier this year its managing director, Michel Camdessus, was asked why it had imposed the same old belt-tightening adjustment programmes on Thailand, Indonesia and Korea — programmes that were quite inappropriate to their present needs.

"Mr Camdessus became indignant. The new agreements represented a marked departure from the IMF's traditional approach. They were built not on a set of austerity measures, but rather on far-reaching structural reforms to strengthen financial systems, increase transparency, open markets and restore market confidence."

The IMF is not used to such scorn. It has long enjoyed the reputation of a lean and focused bureau-

cracy staffed by the world's best economic and financial minds. The Fund's view has been that the economy of one country is very much like any other and that by applying its rational, neoliberal economic models it could restore a measure of economic stability.

Created at the 1944 Bretton Woods Conference in New Hampshire, the IMF's remit was at first narrow. It was the world's central bank, the lender of last resort to member countries. Most of its clients were advanced industrial countries such as Britain, and the system worked reasonably well, fixed exchange rates making it relatively easy to police. All that changed in 1972 when Richard Nixon uncoupled the dollar from gold.

The new world was rather different, primarily because the end of fixed rates brought new opportunities for speculation to take on the weak links in the financial system. The famed "Gnomes of Zurich", who under the British government led by Harold Wilson in 1967 were now joined by fellow spirits in financial markets from New York to Tokyo, with relatively large capital sums at their disposal, British and American borrowings from the IMF in the late 1970s hurt: the richer industrial countries would at all costs avoid similar humiliation. The IMF would still supervise their economies, but capital shortages would be met by

work of new roads. Two-thirds of the 1,500 long-term jobs created by the World Cup are in the Communist-run municipality.

In the regional centres such as Nantes, Montpellier and Marseille, the investment promotion agency Datra has taken potential foreign investors on football-linked visits in an effort to clinch deals.

Experts say that once the event is over the boost to the economy will be no more than a blip — "no arrival to be measured", according to an official at the Insee national statistics agency.

If France were to lift the trophy, the lovable boost to economic performance and productivity would be considerable. It would be Le Footgold factor with a vengeance.

GLADIAN WEEKLY
July 12 1998

borrowing from the increasingly free and open private sector capital markets.

But just as there was talk that the IMF might have outlived its usefulness, the Mexican crisis broke. In 1982 the Mexican government reneged on its debts with private sector banks, precipitating a crisis across Latin America that threatened the Western banking system. The IMF stepped in as lender of last resort and found itself a new role. No longer banker to the industrial countries, it discovered a global clientele among the developing countries. Instead of making short-term bridging loans it was in for the long haul.

When the Berlin Wall came down and the former Soviet Union and its satellites aspired to capitalism the IMF acquired almost two dozen new clients. Despite its declining financial austerity, it added hundreds of new economists to its staff, doubled the size of its Washington HQ and increased its budget to \$307 million in the 1997-98 financial year.

But if it had grown in size it had also grown in its role. It was no longer a member countries remained the same. Its operations were shrouded in secrecy, its advice to governments private, its focus on fiscal deficits, monetary policy and inflation a "fundamental" vacuum.

Even before the IMF started throwing its weight around in Asia, it was not short of critics. Robert Wiles, professor of political economics at Brown University in the US, and the financial consultant Frank Veronesi argued that Asian governments were different from those the IMF usually dealt with. They had high levels of savings, which were recycled as loans to corporations. Companies are closely linked with governments.

The IMF believes that, in the end, it will be vindicated. It points out — rightly — that the lack of an equivalent body deepened the global crisis of the 1930s. Critics argue, however, that one result of the 1930s was the formation of a Keynesian international system fortified by capital controls.

The IMF's recent actions have even given die-hard free-traders reason to question what it thinks it is doing. According to Jagdish Bhagwati, an Indian expert on world trade: "It is a lot of ideological hubbub that says that without free portfolio capital mobility, something will go wrong. The IMF's role is to supervise their economies, but capital shortages would be met by

GLADIAN WEEKLY
July 12 1998

Turkey fails to face facts over EU snub

Mario Jago

TURKEY has decided to snub Europe. The country feels isolated after its application to join the European Union was turned down by the 15 member countries at the Luxembourg summit last December, and is currently in the grip of domestic tensions.

The 15th round of the EU summit in Cardiff in June, when Paris and London tried to heal the wounds of Luxembourg by calling for "more positive" relations with Turkey, has not changed anything.

But while Turkey has no intention, in the immediate future, of reopening the political lives of communication with the EU, it will continue, as its deputy prime minister, Bülent Ecevit, has pointed out, to "press home its entitlement to membership".

Described as "a disgrace", "a slap in the face", "prejudice", "a blunder" — even Turkey's most fervent Europhiles feel bitter about what they call the EU's "discriminatory" attitude towards them. They argue that geographically Turkey is part of Europe, and that culturally it has the same values — after all, the Ottomans were, after all, Byzantine Empire, and the secular republic that Kemal Ataturk introduced seven decades ago was based on the ideals of the French Revolution.

They also point out that Turkey's dynamic economy — last year's growth rate of 8 per cent was one of the highest in the world — makes it just as good a candidate for EU membership as the former Soviet bloc countries whose candidacy has been accepted.

The real reason why they are being kept out, say the Turks, is that Europe sees itself above all as "a Christian club", and feels threatened by a possible influx of immigrants from Anatolia.

Such fears do indeed exist. Germany, for example, which paid a high price for reunification and has more than 2 million Turks on its territory, would, a German diplomat said, be "unable to accept any further influx of immigrants".

Germany among its population."

Even so, the Turks are guilty of exaggeration when they talk of an "injustice". They are too inclined to overlook the fact that Turkey has simply failed to meet the political and economic criteria necessary for membership. There has been no improvement in human rights, nor any progress towards settling the Kurdish problem.

The country's human rights record is chilling. According to Amnesty International, six people died in police custody during the first six months of this year, nine "disappeared" after being arrested, and 29 were victims of extrajudicial executions. The authorities have also recently imprisoned journalists and writers such as Haluk Gerger, Eber Yamanoglu and Ragil Duran, whose works are regarded as a threat to Turkey's unity.

Even more alarming is the continuation of links between the mafia, the military and the ultra-nationalists. It came to light as a result of the attempt on the life of the leading human rights campaigner Akin Birdal in May. His attackers, ultra-nationalists in the pay of a notorious mafia boss, admitted after their arrest that they had received training at a police academy.

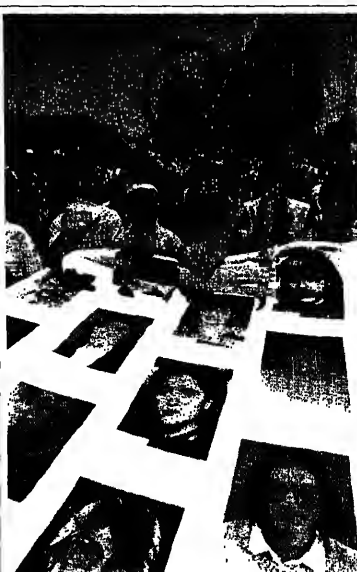
An unofficial pact between ultra-nationalists, organised crime and the military, fuelled by the war in the largely Kurdish southeast of the country, could in the long run prove more of a threat to national unity than a genuine debate on the issues facing Turkey.

Such a debate is virtually ruled out the moment any of the five great powers are mentioned: the role of the army, Islamic political activity, national security, the Kurdish question and the problem of the Kurds and minorities in general.

Although there is undoubtedly a greater freedom of expression in Turkey today, the most important issues are never addressed. Although the regime has democratic trappings — secularism and a parliamentary system in which parties of either left or right are freely elected — it is doubtful whether it can really be described as civilian.

The army's influence is widespread, and in its capacity as a major

Le Monde



Turks march in Ankara last week to commemorate the 37 intellectuals who were killed by Islamist five years ago

commercial player — Oyak, set up in 1961 to help army officers and their families, is now an economic heavyweight — it was quick to react to the emergence of Islamist business leaders.

By cancelling political power from civilians the generals have discredited the already badly weakened traditional parties. The early election next April, far from ending the political instability typical of the coalition governments that have run Turkey for the past 30 years, will simply allow the Virtue party, the latest Welfare successor, to corner more votes — always supposing it is allowed to survive until then.

Given that power in Turkey is concentrated in the hands of a few

generals, they are unlikely to agree to the transfer of sovereignty that is inherent in becoming a member of the EU.

The army's crackdown on Islamists, mounting tension with Greece and the crisis sparked by the French parliament's decision to recognise the Armenian genocide at the hands of the Turks in 1915 have crippled Turkey's diplomatic response and made it even less likely that the authorities will try to open up the country.

If Brussels wants to help Turkey find a way forward, it should offer Ankara further compromises. After all, as a French geopolitical expert once said, the EU is "a machine for manufacturing cynicism".

(July 27)

Miners bring protest to Yeltsin's door

Agatha Duparo in Moscow

THE area in front of Moscow's White House has been the scene of a strange standoff over the past two weeks. Some 300 pinhead-faced, mishevelled miners have been camping below government officials' windows to protest against the non-payment of their salaries.

They have set up house in makeshift tents 50 metres from the entrance to the building. Their only washing facilities are three leaky buckets nailed to a wooden board. Men's coats of kasha trousers, brought to them by sympathetic old-age pensioners. Each morning and evening a stream of civil servants pass the campers without so much as a glance in their direction.

One month after the miners' protest movement blocked railway lines throughout Russia, promises have not been kept. There have been continuing delays in the payment of salaries despite assurances from the authorities. That is why the miners organised their picket in front of the White House.

They arrived on June 11 from Voronezh in the far north, Kuznetsk in Siberia and Rostov-on-Don in southern Russia, with money contributed by local industrialists. "I don't want you, I don't want you, we will get you out," reads one of their banners directed at President Yeltsin.

On June 12, Yakov Urmanov (the finance minister) and Boris Nemtsov (the deputy prime minister) told us to go to hell, and insisted we stop calling on Yeltsin to resign," says Svinitskiy, a father of two who has spent six of his 22 years in prison. Voronezhskiy says: "I don't want to see Yeltsin. He is nothing. Not a single minister has dared to climb down the window of his Volvo or Mercedes."

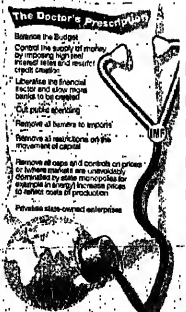
Svinitskiy is disgusted. "Just before the 1993 presidential elections, Yeltsin dressed up as a miner so he could come down and visit the bottom of our mine. Then he went straight to the director's office and said 'shakes' (deceit). We all vowed for him, but nothing has changed."

In the past 12 months Svinitskiy has never been paid in full. He is owed a total of 34,000 roubles (\$5,500). He says he has managed to hang on with the help of his mother-in-law's pension.

The White House demonstrators have been visited by a handful of sympathisers. A retired army officer talked of the "genocide of the Russian people" and gave them a supply of dried-out Soviet cigarettes. A neurosurgeon, calling himself a "doctor", offered to massage the backs of the weary miners. Some party leaders have also showed their faces, including the Communist Gennady Zyuganov, who was given a cool reception.

On June 26, a pop singer and member of the Duma, the lower house of parliament, Yossi Kobzon, best known for his "bad boy" image, was subsidised by France would result in his granting a procurement contract to a French company. No one, surely, will mourn the passing of this system.

(July 28)



France seeks kick start from World Cup

Peter Gaskell

IF FRANCE does not achieve World Cup triumph, it will not be for lack of effort on the part of the government. The authorities have put in a substantial financial investment, aimed at adding France's name to the select band of six so far to have lifted football's biggest prize.

As if anticipating national triumph, the French economy has continued the recovery that began in spring last year, aided by a surge in exports. Policymakers expect a 3 per cent growth rate for 1998 and 1999, while even the most obstinate enemy — high unemployment — is wakening. From 12.6 per

cent at the nadir of 1997, the rate was down to 11.9 per cent in May, and the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development's Economic Outlook has raised its forecast to 1.3 per cent for 1999.

In France the centralising ethos that dates back to Colbert in the 17th century is alive and well, though not as ideologically unchallenged as before, and top managers trained in the *grandes écoles* still glide seamlessly from positions as ministerial advisers to being captains of industry.

Not surprising, therefore, that the French centralising tradition should swing into action for the World Cup, in the hope that it would boost the economy.

What has been spent and what are the likely benefits? The total cost of staging the World Cup has risen to Fr5.4 billion (\$1.5 billion), of which 57 per cent has been financed by the public sector. Official figures show that the central government share amounted to Fr3.1 billion. Of that, Fr1.25 billion was spent on the new 80,000-seat Stade de France in Saint-Denis.

Indeed, the municipality of St-Denis, a traditionally poor area beset by high unemployment and racial tension, would appear to be the most permanent beneficiary. Around the new stadium are a new sports centre, cinema complex, two new railway stations and a net-

FOREIGN EXCHANGES

	Starting rates July 8	Starting rates June 28
Australia	9.869/2.6744	9.750/2.6707
Belgium	9.31/24.46	9.31/24.46
Canada	71.13/11.24	71.13/11.24
Denmark	11.23/11.25	11.23/11.25
France	12.71/12.78	12.71/12.78
Germany	2.97/2.97	2.97/2.97
Italy	1.97/1.97	1.97/1.97
Japan	1.07/1.07	1.07/1.07
Netherlands	1.07/1.07	1.07/1.07
New Zealand	1.07/1.07	1.07/1.07
Spain	1.07/1.07	1.07/1.07
Sweden	1.07/1.07	1.07/1.07
Switzerland	1.07/1.07	1.07/1.07
UK	1.07/1.07	1.07/1.07
USA	1.07/1.07	1.07/1.07

Stepping out of francophone Africa

EDITORIAL

FRANCE has finally decided to venture forth from its traditional sphere of influence in Africa. The French-speaking countries that have been the focus of the French president, Jacques Chirac, during his recent trip to southern Africa, which took him to Namibia, South Africa, Mozambique and Angola, is a commendable decision.

It is not that France, it does not abandon some of its oldest friends in francophone Africa. But Chirac's tour is a sign of a new policy.

France's political and industrial leaders realise they will have to take account of the

new state of play in Africa: with the end of the cold war and the demise of apartheid, Angola and South Africa have become key regional powers.

And second, by reforming its system of aid to Africa, France has begun to "normalise" — read: clean up — its relations with its longest-standing African partners.

France's business community got in on the act some time before its political leaders, realising that southern Africa, as well as various parts of English-speaking Africa, offered a number of attractive markets.

It is often forgotten that a country such as Uganda, thought to be in the front line of the "pernicious" influence of Britain and the United States in

Africa, has for some time now attracted at least as much French investment as the Democratic Republic of Congo, which, when it was still called Zaïre, used to be regarded as a key element of France's influence in the continent.

South Africa is now France's main trading partner in sub-Saharan Africa, well ahead of Ivory Coast. And Angola seems poised to become one of France's main oil suppliers, if not the biggest.

There is a discrepancy between this fact of life and France's image as a country desperately clinging on to a small area that it believes the United States wants to wrest from it. In fact, the amount of US

Handwritten text: "The IMF: one size doesn't fit all"

Prometheus hopes to stay on his pedestal

The Washington Post

A political cartoon by N.Y. artist. It depicts a group of men in traditional Chinese clothing standing on a checkered mat, waiting for a large airplane. One man, who is balding and wearing a striped robe, is shouting a demand for dialogue. A speech bubble from him contains the text: "WAIT! I WANT MORE DIALOGUE WITH THE CHINESE PEOPLE! ... A CONVERSATION! ... FEEL THEIR PAIN! ... SHARE THEIR DREAMS!". The airplane, which has a circular emblem on its side, is partially visible on the right. The signature "N.Y. artist" is at the bottom left.

U.N. Accuses Congo Over Hutu Massacres

utu Massacres

Swiss Banks Face Embargo

Journal of Management Education 30(6)

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Banking on a Blunt Instrument

COMMENT
David Broder

SENATOR Richard Lugar of Indiana, a man not given to rhetorical overstatement, calls them an "epidemic." The Republican's most respected foreign policy spokesman is talking about the rate of economic sanctions imposed by the United States in recent years — a feel-good reflex with decidedly mixed real-world results.

In the 80 years since World War I ended, our government has felt called upon to ban aid, trade or other commerce with sanctioned nations 115 times. Remarkably, 61 of those actions have been taken during the last five years.

In 1987, the President's Export Council reported, U.S. sanctions were on the books against countries with more than half the world's population. The tool continues to grow in popularity. An update by a business coalition called USA-ENCA last month found that four more sanctions bills have become law in this Congress, and half a dozen more have been approved on one side of the Capitol or the other.

One of those measures, the Freedom From Religion Persecution Act that passed the House last month, could curb trade with as many as 75 countries, if the findings of the latest State Department report on human rights abuses are to be taken seriously. As the title of that measure suggests, sanctions are imposed, almost always, in pursuit of some highly valued principle, whether it be stopping terrorism, slowing the spread of nuclear weapons, halting the drug trade or defending civil liberties.

The problem is that unilateral sanctions rarely work. Indeed, they often have the effect of hamstringing U.S. diplomacy and antagonizing allies. Too frequently, U.S. firms are shut out of markets others are happy to occupy. If there is an economic impact on the targeted country, too often it is felt by its oppressed population, not the smug, well-heeled rulers.

The sanctions are commonly imposed by statute, with varying degrees of discretion for the president to apply them. Lugar says they have become foreign policy-making on the cheap. "At first," he said, "there was a feeling on Capitol Hill the administration was not very focused on foreign policy, so everyone felt free to play . . . We have a good number of members who do not want to use the military any more. Sanctions are a way of having your cake and eating it too. You

make a statement, and it appears to be cost-free."

But now the administration, Lugar and Indiana Democratic Rep. Lee Hamilton are leading a bipartisan effort to cure Congress and the country of sanctions addiction. President Clinton is lobbying for more leeway for himself, even threatening to veto new sanctions bills. Lugar, Hamilton and a sizable group of allies from both parties — backed by industry and farm groups frustrated by loss of markets — are pressing legislation that would make sanctions less of a reflex response and more of a thought-through policy option.

Sanctions have their uses — when applied correctly. Stuart Blumenthal, the undersecretary of state who has exhausted himself trying to straighten out some of the problems, told me that "there are circumstances when sanctions are necessary and effective." But in recent testimony, he cited experience in countries ranging from Iran to Sudan, Burma, Nigeria and Cuba to show why sanctions "should not be a first resort" for American lawmakers.

Lugar said that, as the principal sponsor of the South Africa sanctions law which Nelson Mandela credits with helping bring down the apartheid regime in that country, he too knows they can be valuable, "when carefully targeted."

Lugar and Hamilton would require that any sanctions legislation state explicitly the policy objectives being sought, analyze the economic effects here and abroad, include authority for a presidential waiver when the White House determines it to be in the national interest and terminate after two years unless extended.

The administration is supportive, but would like to have even more flexibility for the president. When India and Pakistan tested atomic warheads recently, they were automatically subjected to unilateral U.S. sanctions under a law sponsored by John Glenn, the Ohio Democrat who has led Senate efforts against nuclear proliferation. The trouble was that with no waiver authority for the president, the United States had no maneuvering room and, as is often the case, other major powers declined to go along.

Glenn told me how wise he was when he provided a 30-day cooling-off period, so the president could have sought multilateral support or used the threat of sanctions to obtain concessions from India and Pakistan.

Common sense suggests that sanctions deserve more careful consideration than they have received. But when legislatures or sometimes the next step and begin "requiring" the mass use of such products, the flaws become glaring. Many of the products so far have been crude or overbroad. A filter that Loudoun County, Virginia, libraries tried to require on every library terminal — until a court overturned the



Firefighters start a backfire to prevent the flames reaching a school in Fingler County. PHOTO: WISCONSIN

Florida's Summer Goes Up in Smoke

Sue Anne Presley
in Daytona Beach

THE OCEAN was still here, of course, and the sun, peeling through a gray gauze of smoke. But this weekend on this 30-mile stretch of hard-packed sand billed as "the World's Most Famous Beach,"

"It's pitiful out here," said Sam Nichols, who manages a beach-buggy rental company, looking out at a sea of people packed like sardines and wearing a surgical mask because of the smoke. "This is like an off, off, off day, nothing like the Fourth of July."

A few miles to the west, north and south, the wildfires that have dominated life on Florida's upper east coast for more than two weeks ate away at the parched woodlands and pastures, blocking roadways and sometimes consuming homes. With such danger and heartache close by, it was hard for anyone

here to enjoy what is normally one of the wildest holidays of the year. Most tourists just stayed away.

Those who did venture out found themselves smothered with soot as well as sunburn. A black line of soot marked the sand where the high tide had come in. Burned leaves floated in swimming pools. One man swore the sea water tasted like charcoal.

It may not have been a festive Fourth here in the fire zone, but it was certainly a memorable one. Houlihan's Irish Sports Pub, normally filled with the carefree, was turned into a real area for exhausted firefighters, who dozed until they had to do battle again.

"We are winning every battle and we will win this war," said Jim Truher, director of fire services for Volusia County, the home of Daytona Beach. "Have faith."

Since June 1, at least 200 homes and businesses have been de-

stroyed by the fires, propelled by the driest May and June in the state's history, and nearly half a million acres have been burned in central wildfires consumed 146,000 acres in the state in all of 1997.

But the fighting forces are growing daily. Fifteen hundred National Guard personnel have been called up to assist the 4,500 firefighters from 42 states and seven federal agencies. Two-thirds of the water-bearing helicopters in the southeastern U.S. are at work here. Every bulldozer in the state's inventory has been put to service.

Already the wildfires have cost more than \$100 million to fight, and that is only the beginning. Officials in this tourism-dependent state have not yet calculated how many people canceled vacation plans — July usually sees 4 million visitors in Florida — but it was obvious the fires also meant devastating losses in revenue.

Government Tells States to Pay for Viagra

Amy Goldstein

THE federal government this month ordered states to cover Viagra under their Medicaid programs, infuriating many of the nation's governors, who swiftly accused U.S. health officials of costing them millions of dollars and ignoring their worries about the untenable position of covering Viagra for men while virtually none of them cover birth control or infertility treatments for women. And they said federal officials had rushed to

requires them to pay for the expensive, enormously popular drug through Medicaid, the insurance program for the poor and disabled. Any state Medicaid program that covers prescription medicines, the letter said, must also pay for Viagra.

But states countered that, in issuing its order, the federal government was putting them in the untenable position of covering Viagra for men while virtually none of them cover birth control or infertility treatments for women. And they said federal officials had rushed to

condone Viagra just as warnings are beginning to surface that the drug's huge popularity may be causing deaths among some men.

"What we know about some of the real danger signs of Viagra really raise serious concerns," Elaine Ryan, government affairs director for the American Public Welfare Association.

Based on the association's survey of several states, Ryan predicted that Viagra will add \$100 million to \$200 million nationwide to states' Medicaid expenses.

overturning of the Communications Decency Act, and widely considered impractical) and total helplessness by parents who want their kids to surf safely in a freewheeling, sometimes rough medium.

But when legislatures or sometimes the next step and begin "requiring" the mass use of such products, the flaws become glaring. Many of the products so far have been crude or overbroad. A filter that Loudoun County, Virginia, libraries tried to require on every library terminal — until a court overturned the

requirement — blocked all information about "Middlesex County." A competing product blocked every site that didn't meet its sponsors' criteria for "tolerance," which screened out many right-of-center material. The abuses that would result from attempts to choose such software for a whole school or county to offer the public can hardly be overestimated.

Despite this, a House subcommittee recently approved a proposal by Rep. Ernest J. Istook Jr., R-Okla., that would amend the Health and Human

Services Department budget to prohibit the expenditure of any funds for computers that would offer unfettered Internet access. The Senate Commerce Committee in March approved a provision that would impose similar restrictions as a condition for receiving the discounted "senior" (the subject of attack) These proposals would, at best, potentially add, will probably lead to giving parents control and greatly increase it to impose broad restrictions on public access to information and on the people who provide it.

Senegalese Women Break With Tradition

For many the practise of female circumcision is no longer acceptable. Vivienne Wait reports from Diabougou

ASSA TOU SARR thought she would never see the dreaded moment. Then late last year, from a far-off village, came an old Muslim priest. He had waited for days in his rubber thongs and white robe to urge the community to stop Sarr from doing her life's work: cutting out the genitals of young girls.

"In the beginning, people were shocked, and shouted in anger," said Sarr. "This was our tradition. Some walked out of the meeting."

Sarr was about to get caught up in a small revolution that has shaken through rural Senegal like a hot fat storm. In the past year, village after village has declared an end to female circumcision, a practice that has existed in parts of Africa since the 19th century.

Sarr, in her fifties, had been the midwife for the village for decades, using a razor blade to perform the procedure on about 20 girls every rainy season. She learned the trade from her grandmother, who had circumcised her at 15. In turn, she had excised the genitalia of her daughters, granddaughters and great-granddaughters.

Initially, Sarr feared she would not have the emotional resilience to do this. Not everyone, she said, has the stamina to do it. Not only is it a proud of her skill, it has properly filled with the carefree, was turned into a real area for exhausted firefighters, who dozed until they had to do battle again.

After weeks of bitter argument, the villagers gathered in February and voted never again to circumcise their girls. Kept alive through war, migration and slavery, a centuries-old tradition was abolished within minutes. And Sarr, who now depends on her brothers' support, resigned herself to new challenges.

Sarr's hardship is just one of the consequences of this quiet rebellion. Since last July, 29 Senegalese communities have declared an end to female circumcision, and begun pressing others to join them. In the last 18 months, their leaders have become local legends — even Hillary Rodham Clinton hailed them during her visit here in April.

About 120 million African women in about 25 countries are circumcised, and thousands each year die as a result, in childbirth, or from infections and hemorrhaging, according to the World Health Organization. Yet until now, Western health workers have had little effect in Africa. In fact, they have often been vilified who believe the tradition is required not only by Islam, but for hygiene and sexual prudency, too.

Even here in Senegal, one of the most vocal traditionalists recite a tradition identical to those found across Africa: that the clitoris is bad, that it's unclean and dangerous for women to walk without it, and that uncircumcised girls are likely to get pregnant and marry.

But now, female circumcision is on the agenda 10 years ago, said the Most Melching, an Ameri-

can, founded an organization called Toussaint (Breakthrough). Melching, who came to Senegal in 1976 as an exchange student and never left, designed an intensive literacy and skills training program for women, built around group discussions. Funded largely by UNICEF, she hired villagers to teach the classes and published workbooks in local languages.

Melching said she's learned from some critical mistakes made by international organizations and Western feminists. Too often, Melching said, Western organizations have persuaded individuals to abandon female circumcision without understanding that such independence

could leave an African woman with no marriage prospects and expose her family to scorn or ostracism. Demba Diawara, the imam, or priest, who arrived in Diabougou to plead the case against circumcision, said: "Even if you learn something is bad, if it's your tradition, you can't just get up and stop it."

And even within villages that have vowed to stop circumcision, it has been a struggle. In Malicounda, a village of 3,000 located 55 miles southeast of the capital, Dakar, women argued bitterly with men, who feared that their public renunciation of circumcision would deeply embarrass them.

Grassroots opposition has provided protection for politicians. One month after Malicounda's decision was reported in Senegal, President Abdou Diouf made his first-ever declaration against circumcision and is now pushing to make it a crime, punishable by six years in jail.

However, the tradition has defenders everywhere. When Melching brushed the subject with a group of women near Malicounda, she immediately got an earful of complaints.

"It was only when white people came and said you shouldn't do this anymore, that those women said they didn't believe in circumcision," said Mamie Fatou Diatta, 33, her eyes blazing. "I saw Mrs. Clinton

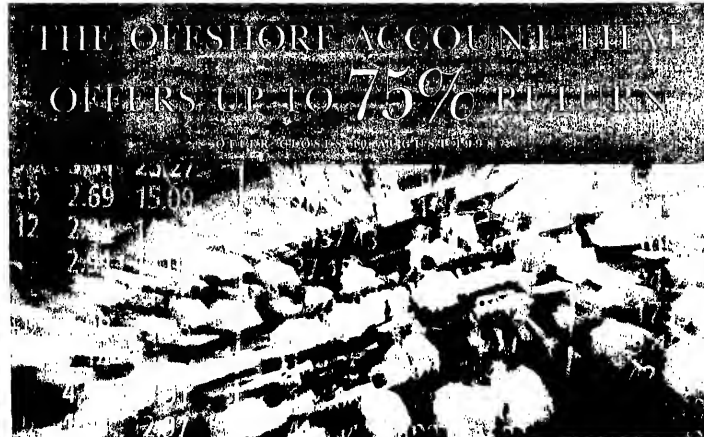
come and denigrate our culture!" she shouted, referring to the first lady's embrace of the Malicounda women at a televised celebration in Dakar.

And near Ker Simbara, Diawara's village about 60 miles from Dakar, a group of elderly men sat under a big tree, arguing with him. "Circumcision is normal, according to Mohammed," said the local imam, cross-legged on a mat, with a heavy Koran open on his lap.

If the idea is to take hold throughout Senegal, let alone the rest of Africa, it will need hundreds more villages to join the fight. But word has already carried clear across this country. Recently, hundreds of miles south of here, 15 more villages gathered in celebration to declare they would never again practice female circumcision.

It was only when white people came and said you shouldn't do this anymore, that those women said they didn't believe in circumcision," said Mamie Fatou Diatta, 33, her eyes blazing. "I saw Mrs. Clinton

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APPOINTMENTS & COURSES 25

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Save the Children

Having a whale of a time

Mark Cowker

THE Rubia Reigh lighthouse on Scotland's remote Outer Hebrides is a magical location. To the north it beams sweeps over a stretch of Atlantic Ocean known as The Much Beyond one can make out the distant outline of the Hebridean island of Harris, while to the south are the dark fells of the Isle of Skye. Normally the weather in this area is unpredictable, but we were doubly fortunate. Every day we enjoyed long hours of uninterrupted sunshine and the breeze was so light the Atlantic looked as flat as a South Sea lagoon.

These were perfect conditions to see the mammals for which the area is famous. Beyond the rocks a party of grey seals gathered each morning and greeted us with their mournful songs, and once we spotted an otter moving almost gracefully through the swell. Every few seconds it would arch its back and dive, and sometimes we could follow its progress by the trail of bubbles then it would pop back to the surface, the upper body rising clear of the water.

But the real joy of Rubia Reigh were the cetaceans. In almost every sweep with our telescopes we seemed to find at least one group of harbour porpoises. Seldom measuring more than 1.5 metres this is one of the smallest species of whale in the world. In Europe it is also the one most likely to be close inshore, rising in a series of shallow arcs above the surface.

Although still the commonest of European cetaceans, harbour porpoises in the Baltic Sea, English Channel and North Sea have declined because of marine pollution and the high mortality rates caused by entanglement in fishing nets.

Around Scotland's coasts they also face a different and quite unexpected threat — from dolphins. Despite our current tendency to see

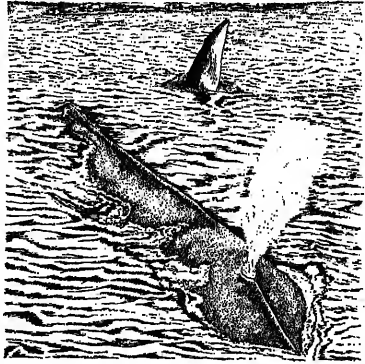


ILLUSTRATION: ANN HODGKIN

the whale nation as a type of marine utopia, it's been proven that bottlenose dolphins — the species most often performing acrobatic stunts in dolphinaria — kill and eat porpoises. In the mornings and evenings the dolphins of Rubia Reigh broke the glasslike surface of The Much, and for short periods they would ride high through the swell, when their tail, hooked dorsal fins and dark upper bodies arched steeply from the water.

Even during this brief exposure one gained a sense of a creature twice the size of the porpoise. But the dolphins looked small when set against the bulk of Rubia Reigh's real prize.

During the summer these waters hold parties of minke whales, one of the family of six rorqual species that includes the largest creature on earth, the blue whale. The minke is the baby of the group, a big female measuring a mere nine metres in

length. Even in perfect conditions very little of this shows above the surface. On several occasions we caught a glimpse of a minke's spout as it rose in a diffuse globe of misty spray that instantly evaporated on the breeze. More often we would see one as it came up to breathe, when the upper body protruded as a dark convex line above the horizon. Last to disappear as it rolled under was a short caudal dorsal fin almost bluish-black.

Just once we witnessed something much more spectacular. An adult rose four metres into mid-air before its seven-tonne bulk crashed back into the ocean. It occupied a matter of seconds in three days of watching but it whetted our appetites for more, and it triggered all sorts of imaginings about the whale's inhuman realm of endless water and its other deeper world of fantastic, subliminal darkness.

Chess Leonard Barden

KARPOV and Kasparov were slightly tarnished crowns last month after both world champions met stiff resistance against lesser opposition. Kasparov won only 54.4% from Bulgaria's Topolov in a novel match where both GMs consulted computers during play; while Karпов settled for a 58.4% win against the Chinese women's team in Beijing.

Karпов's globalroving even extended to top board in the United States Amateur Team Championships — "amateur", defined as an average rating below the equivalent of a British grade of 200, and allowing four-player teams to field two GMs, a master and a rank beginner. Karпов won all his six games, but his teammates dropped several points so they finished runners-up on tie-break.

Incidentally, the US team event, which always attracts several hundred squads, puts its British equivalents to shame.

Anatoly Karпов-Chris Williams, US Amateur Teams 1998

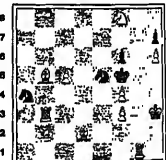
strategic objectives. N16 10 N14 N17 11 e3 Ne5 12 Nd3 N16 N14 N4 by 13 N12 N12 14 Kx2c2 followed by Qc2 and B2d3 pressuring Black's weak f6 pawn.

13 Qd5+ Ng6? The losing move. Karпов in the USG's excellent magazine Chess Life later recommended 13... Nd5 14 Qd5 B17 R16 Q16 16 Qd7 R17 Qd7 R16 followed by Qc2 as critical. Black's activity compensates for his lost pawn.

14 d4! Threatening Bd3 and g4, and ready to meet 14... Bd7 by 15 Qd5+ winning a piece. Kd8 15 Bd3 Bd7 16 g4! Once again the already familiar idea. Now White threatens 17 g5! N16 18 Q17 and 19 Q7 trapping the h8 rook; so Black tries to meet the ganging drives by a fabled plan to catch the white queen.

Bd8 17 Qd5 Ne5 18 f5 Bg6 19 Qd6 Re3. For if h5g6 20 Rxd6 and 21 Rxd8 when White is two pieces up.

No 2531



White mates in three moves at latest, against any black defence by Joseph Blackburne, 1861. The problem magazine quotes this little-known but impressive case of Blackburne, then aged only 20, as composer. Unless you know the theme, White's first move will seem irrelevant.

No 2530/1. ... Re2 Rd2 Qd5 wins at least the bishop.

Quick crossword no. 426

Across	Down
1 Ruler acting during disability of sovereign (6)	1 Continues — to stand (6)
2 Island (5)	2 Told — of family connection? (7)
3 French country (5)	3 Want (4)
4 Commiseration (6)	4 Surpass (5)
5 Veined (6)	5 Scrumpled (5)
6 Continues — to stand (6)	6 Upright (6)
7 Throught (6)	7 Major cycle
8 Thought (6)	
9 Throught (6)	
10 Throught (6)	
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12 Throught (6)	
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20 Throught (6)	
21 Throught (6)	
22 Throught (6)	
23 Throught (6)	
24 Throught (6)	

Bridge Zia Mahmood

REPORTED some time ago the break-up of the partnership between Bob Hamman and Bobby Wolff, one of the longest-standing team partnerships in the history of the game. Another great American partnership dissolved at the same time — that between Paul Soloway and Bobby Goldstein. Since then, Hamman and Soloway have formed a new partnership — or to be more accurate, they have renewed an old one. They first played together in the World Team Olympiad in 1972, finishing second to America's great rivals of those days, the Italian Blue Team.

Now, Hamman and Soloway are set to return to the international stage. Their team, including Nick Nicotri, Dick Freeman, Jeff Meckstroth and Eric Rodwell has just won the United States just won the team trial, and will represent their country in the next World Championship for the Bermuda Bowl — appropriately enough in Bermuda in 2000.

The final match of the international trial was played close to the way through. At the half-way stage, the scores were level, and only an outrageous piece of good fortune propelled the Nicotri team into the lead against their long-time rivals, the team captained by Jimmy Cayce. This was the deal that swung the match for the decisive time in favour of Nicotri. North-South vulnerable, dealer South (see right).

North	South
Q6	A943
KQ6	A543
J107	Q42
AKQ92	J107
Q6	A943
KQ6	A543
J107	Q42
AKQ92	J107

Rodwell's decision to open the nine-point South hand was typical of the aggressive style that has made his partnership with Meckstroth the most feared in the game today. Having opened, of course, he had to see it through. East-West put up a barrage in diamonds, but Rodwell had no qualms about bidding three hearts at his second turn. Meckstroth's four diamonds showed interest in a slam. Rodwell had none for the

moment and tried to sign off in four hearts, but Meckstroth was pressing on with five hearts. This demanded that Rodwell bid a slam with a diamond control, so bid it he did.

In order to make 12 tricks, Rodwell needed the heart suit to divide 3-2, the club suit to divide 5-3, and the king of spades to be with East — the hand that had not overcalled. The chances of this are roughly 10 per cent, or nine times out of 10 Rodwell would have failed in his slam. This was the 10th, and this took his team to Bermuda.

Letter from New South Wales Sophie Masson

Basking in splendid isolation

THE 3km walk to our local general store is a delight on these hot days. The blue-and-gold winter mornings. In the thin pure air the landscape is laid out in front of you like pages from a gorgeous medieval manuscript: the flowing calligraphy of bush and tree and pale native grasses; the rich illuminations of crimson and azure and deep green birch; the kangaroos rising from the grassy margins of the ochre-coloured road like heraldic beasts.

There is a sense of timeless calm. You can hear your foot steps crunching on the road, you can almost feel the smooth of drift under a keener's body as it steps steeply on to its catch. No one else is about, though there are plenty of signs of human life: a thin curl of smoldering smoke, the thud of an axe, the growl of a mower. Sometimes dogs come out of gardens to bark crossly. Once a rooster behind me made me turn; and there was a mob of cattle on the move, ambling along as if the man on the horse behind them and the pickup in front had nothing to do with their excursion. The rumble of a car sounds for a moment like the crunch of a car's wheels, and its occupant stares and swerves, surprised to see someone walking.

For this is the land of the car. In this populated district of rural smallholdings, you see practically nobody. People hide up narrow, twisting tracks in bushland retreats and hardly know their neighbours; the store is the only point of contact for most of us. We're lucky; this is not one of the too-badly depressed areas of rural Australia, the population, though static, has not declined, the banks have not yet started deserting us. Families have put new life in the schools and social clubs; have brought in new ideas, houses, goodwill, dreams of a return to traditional lifestyles. People have chickens and vegetable gardens, and sell surplus fruit.

Yet the rural dislocation is still profound. For this was once agricultural land, but jobs on the land have all disappeared, and long-settled families are losing their properties to the banks while the One Nation party is scouting around for candidates to stand in what has always been rich National party territory. In

this beautiful place, rancour has grown — not quite as much as in others, but enough. The national ethos of egalitarianism was basically a rural one; the Australian Labor party was born among shearers and farmworkers, not among urban workers. That ethos always included in its flip side a sense of rancour and resentment — and a kind of self-protective racism. In times of stress that is what came out most strongly. Now that even Aboriginal people mostly live in towns (72 per cent in 1996, as opposed to 97 per cent in 1966) the stresses of an egalitarian society fast hardening into a semi-hierarchical one are becoming increasingly apparent. That angry sense of feeling harried and hemmed in by alien crowds is apparent not only on the right, but on the left, among people who claim that Australia's immigration must be reduced if not curtailed, because it is supposedly "overpopulation".

Rat-children disgraced for profit

Richard Gulpin in Gujarat

AT THE entrance to the shrine of Shah Daula in the city of Gujrat, a Pakistani Punjab province, a young woman sits on the edge of a chair, rocking back and forth. At first sight she could be one of the many devotees who travel from afar to worship at the tomb of the 16th saint. But move closer and it is clear something is wrong. The woman has a swollen head and deep facial scars. Her hair has been shaved and she cannot speak. She is severely disabled.

She is one of hundreds of possibly thousands of Shah Daula orphans or rat-children. For centuries they have been associated with this shrine as part of a powerful myth that holds sway over many people in this region.

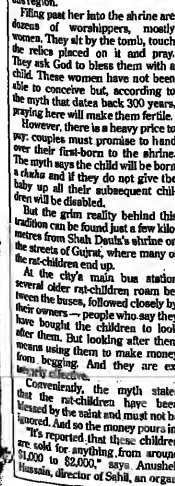
Fitting past her into the shrine are dozens of worshippers, mostly women. They stay at by the tomb, touch the relics placed on it and pray. They ask God to bless them with a child. These women have not been able to conceive but, according to the myth that dates back 300 years, praying here will make them fertile.

However, there is a heavy price to pay. The women promise to hand over their first-born to the shrine. The myth says the child will be born a rat and if they do not give the child up as part of their subsequent childlessness, they will be disabled.

But the grim reality behind this tradition can be found just a few kilometres from Shah Daula's shrine on the streets of Gujrat where many of the rat-children end up.

At the city's main bus station several older rat-children roam begging. Poor Cohen and Berkowitz, their owners — people who say they have bought the children to look after them. But looking after them means taking them to make money from begging. And they are extremely effective.

Conveniently, the myth states that the rat-children have been blessed by Allah and must not be harmed. And so the money pour in. It's reported that these children are sold for anything from around \$1,000 to \$2,000, says Anushka Hussain, director of Shik, an organisation fighting child exploitation.



A woman outside the shrine of Shah Daula has the distinctive shrunken head and scars of the rat-children. PHOTOGRAPH BY RICHARD GULPIN

"We've also heard that they can make around \$10 per day from begging, which makes it a very lucrative business: considering that's twice the amount a child servant makes."

This has led to deep suspicion that the myth of Shah Daula was fabricated to trick people into handing over healthy babies.

One expert who interviewed several families says many parents told him their babies were not deformed when they gave them up.

Historical accounts make this argument more compelling: the descendants of the saint had no land on which they could depend for their livelihood and so needed to find some means of generating income. Many therefore believe that the rat-children, far from being a natural phenomenon, are deliberately deformed by the people who

take them from their parents. Once the process is complete, several years later they are sold off or hired out as beggars.

Although there is no irrefutable evidence, experts say that medieval contraptions are used to disfigure the children.

These charges are denied by those associated with the shrine. A descendant of the saint, Dr P. N. Nandimani, argues that the deformity is caused by a congenital disease that occurs in other parts of the world.

But Pakistan's leading geneticist, Qasim Raza, who spent three years investigating Shah Daula's rat-children, says this is impossible. After interviewing dozens of families, he found that none of the children were related.

Notes & Queries Joseph Barker

WHEN and why did the practice of the UK monarch having a separate official day begin? Do other countries' monarchs do likewise?

The obvious reason is to improve the chance of decent weather for the celebrations. The Queen's real birthday in late April would just about be a feasible date to troop the colour on, though risky. In Luxembourg, the Grand Duke's real birthday is in January but, to avoid his troops having to parade in the snow, his birthday is celebrated every year on June 23. The striking difference is that in Luxembourg the date is a national holiday. — Henry Wickham, Walsby, Luxembourg

"SHELL be coming round the mountain when she comes," promises the old song. Who was she? Did she arrive?

Who was she? Did she arrive? The song dates back to the times of the railway construction to the West to the United States. In the second half of the last century, I don't think it refers to any specific mountain and she did eventually arrive. — Just Myra, Rosario, Argentina

SHE was the railway steam engine. The song dates back to the times of the railway construction to the West to the United States. In the second half of the last century, I don't think it refers to any specific mountain and she did eventually arrive. — Just Myra, Rosario, Argentina

ALMOST all dogs eat "any" thing. Why, then, are they so fussy about fruit?

MY PARENTS have a Springer spaniel who loves fruit. He will eat apples, oranges and bananas. If the fruit bowl is left at his level he will help himself to plums and grapes and while out walking he will even pluck blueberries from the hedgerow. — Jodie Whelan, Amersham, Bucks, England

WHO was the first authenticated named individual in history? — Alan Gordon, London

IF HOT cakes sold so well, how come everyone stopped selling them? — Alan Gordon, London

MOSQUITOES from Italy to Russia are vicious painful pests. British mosquitoes are rare and seem to have little taste for human blood. Why? — Len Salkin, London

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A lot of old cobblers

The point was not just to demonstrate that anonymous people also had a past ("their lives are as interesting as yours or mine, even if nobody has written about them"). It was to show that "collectively . . . such men and women are major his-

If you would like to order this book at the special price of £17 contact CultureShop (see ad page 34).

After she died in June that year, just before her ninth birthday, overexposed to gawpers while suffering from a cough, something like the full-story came out. Caroline was the daughter of Emmanuelle Crachami alias [Judea] Fogle, a Sicilian.

What are we to make of the d...
doings of the doctors in this sordid
affair? Did she, Gaby Wood wood
ders, owe her allure to her eroti
ambivalence — a baby-like ne
adolescent, packaged as that arch
fynal male fantasy, the living doll?

AT LAST, something for the poor gets encumbered with brain. Sick to the teeth with McBeal, bored with Bridget Jones's Diary, think your bottom is too fat to worth bothering about. Mavis Cheek is your woman. We're talking chucklesome rather than belly laughs here, but you'd see be dim indeed not to enjoy this one of a hilariously maudlin, slightly thirty-something bookshop or unable to stop thinking about her lost man.

A report of the exorcism

He is intimately bound up with the steel to free her original family to create her own.

That first, biological family nevertheless returns to haunt both her imagination and her life. This book is about the death of her brother, John Drew, and the manner of his dying. Devon was the baby brother she did not see for more than 20 years, leaving him as a toddler when she quit home at 16, returning only when his Abolitionist illness made her help — as an American citizen with money for, and access to,

At times the result is almost too mannered, but then there are sentences that make one shinch in their harsh direct honesty. Words, in Kincaid's hands, are as palpable, — and so potentially pain-inflicting — as sticks and stones. Less a fraternal lament than a meditation on the profound ambivalence that siblings, parents and children feel for one another — at its most intense, a pure but inseparable duality of love and hate — *My Brother* is memorable, and true.

Stars in the making

Paramount's famous gateway entrance (in actuality, on a tiny side-street) to a studio celebrated for the shimmering sheen of its celluloid images was shown in Sunset Boulevard itself. MGM, epitome of opulent extravagance, was noted —

Unlike today's films, which can take years to shoot and edit and cost almost laughably large sums, most of Hollywood's mainstream output during the few decades that spanned what Schatz calls its "glory years" was produced swiftly and cheaply. Universal's *Son of Frankenstein* was shot in 27 days, with two directors on alternate shifts, and was on public release five days after it was completed.

Hollywood's golden age could be eccentric and excessive, its value judgments could be bizarre: Schatz cites one story editor as listing Jane Eyre — a candidate for filming — as "the sixth greatest novel in the English language". Yet, out of this confusion and occasional idiocy, emerged films (including Jane Eyre) which started out as formulaic products and ended up as revered classics. Schatz is right to say that the achievements of the studio system "will stand among the greatest cultural accomplishments." Will the same be said, 50 years from now, of the studio system's failures?

There's beauty in the detail

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John Liberman, Bedford

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Secret life of agent Wordsworth

Andrew Motion

The Hidden Wordsworth: Poet, Lover, Rebel, Spy
by Kenneth F. Johnson
Norton \$60pp £30

WHEN Wordsworth was at school in Hawkshead during the 1780s, the day came when he was given "some credit" by "his Master for some English Verses. A bigger boy took him by the arm and led him off into the fields, & when he had got him a quite apart, gravely said to him, 'I say, Bill, when those verses wrote dost thou invoke 'Mae'?"

In this enormous and very impressive biography of the young Wordsworth (of *Islands in the Sea* fame), Kenneth Johnson makes the manner of original discovery. But his search for the impetus of the poetry — "Mae" — has a property familiar feel to it.

His Wordsworth in obscurity, ideas of self-creation — someone who needs "humanity" in landscape as well as its figures, who requires that this humanity be tested against

his own experience, and who understands that personal revelations have a general value. This is the justification of the egotistical subtext: to create a poetic self that is also exemplary.

Johnson unravels this theme with enough subtlety to make it feel fresh, and combines it with another equally familiar notion. In Wordsworth's lifetime, some readers complained he had as much imagination as a pint pot (the phrase is Shelley's), but it is nearer the truth to say he was a poet with remarkably few powers of invention.

Wordsworth himself suspected this, and made good the deficiency by soliciting other people's stories when stopping travellers on the road to hear them talk. This meant his inwards, counterweight, imagination had a counterpart in the outside world, where people speak in the "language such as men do use." It generates in his best work a feeling of simultaneous depth and spread, just as unparalleled in English poetry.

Even if Johnson had no actual discoveries to promote, his readings of the poems would be a good enough reason to buy this book. As

it is — sometimes with great daring, always with good sense — he directs us towards areas of his subject's life that help us to see the man in a new light. And its rewards are just as startling — perhaps even more so, since Wordsworth himself had so much success, in the last part of his life, disguising the person he had once been.

Johnson arrives at his first big restoration moment by a slow and scenic route. The death of Wordsworth's parents, the complication of the Lowther inheritance, the notorious "wild, moody and violent temper" of his childhood all these things are well known, and only really take on a tinge of strangeness when Wordsworth arrives at Cambridge in 1787. Here Johnson starts to demolish the received impression of Wordsworth as a sexless young degree, and to establish the significance of his decision not to take his degree. "Few things in the [early] life are more romantic," he says, allowing, a few pages later, when Wordsworth leaves for a walk in the spring of 1789 Wordsworth worked as a spy for the British government. To have done so would have been to take the first step away from his early allegiances towards

This first adventure into Europe, which became a crash course in leaving politics and love (Annette Vallon), is described in tremendous detail by Johnson. At this time of his life Wordsworth was living in the teeth of fierce dangers, at home and abroad, was deeply in love with someone he could not reach, and was desperate to establish a poetics that would be justice to these feelings as well as himself.

Did Wordsworth take a thirteenth unnoticed trip back to France in the autumn of 1793? Johnson thinks so, and tracks him ingeniously to Annette and their infant daughter Caroline, always allowing for the possibility that his ideas are just a theory. No doubt accounts of Johnson's conjectures, but even if he is wrong the long perspective he has given to familiar things is very valuable.

The same thing even applies to his next big idea — the proposition that on a trip into southern Germany in the spring of 1799 Wordsworth worked as a spy for the British government. To have done so would have been to take the first step away from his early allegiances towards

the severely Tory position of his later years. More than that, it registers his need to make himself independent of Coleridge, and of his own sister Dorothy. "The creation of the Poet in Germany," says Johnson, "with all its slightly outrageous nastiness, was also a declaration of dependence on the coffers of the nation-state that he now, after a terrible year of evolution and self-critique, said he had learned to know the value of."

Dorothy has played a gradually growing role in Wordsworth's poetry to this point, and for much of the later part of the book she is seen in a new light. With the Lyford Blakes subverted, his feeling for Annette warm but boxed, and his friendship with Coleridge at times and sense of Wordsworth and his sister settling in Town End (aka Dove Cottage), the torrent of his greatest poetry began to flow. It would be tempting to interpret this as the time when Wordsworth gave way to recollection.

Not that fear is ever much of a factor in Dutch football, as they showed by the way they matched the Dutch in the final of the UEFA Cup. In a physical battle that ended the tactical struggle for possession.

A game of three fine goals by Patrick Kluvert, Carlos Lopez and Dennis Bergkamp, three resounding shots that came back off the bar and into the net, were the only effort by every player in the match as they continued incidents of "bumping ugliness".

After Nunez was dismissed for collecting a second yellow card, on Diego Simeone, while Carlos Lopez, the most recklessly solo player in the entire World Cup, was sent off for a great headbutt on Dutch keeper Jan van der Sar.

It was Bergkamp whose cool sense enabled Holland to take the lead. Wim Jonk had already lost a post with a long-range drive.

Bergkamp met Ronald De Boer with a cushioned header as Carlos Lopez

Football World Cup

Triumph of Dutch courage

Richard Williams in Marseille

THE DUTCH got their revenge for 1978 last Saturday night, even though none of their players was more than 10 years old when Daniel Passarella lifted the World Cup in Buenos Aires.

Passarella's team will feel no sense of loss. In fact, the Dutch football, as they showed by the way they matched the Dutch in the final of the UEFA Cup. In a physical battle that ended the tactical struggle for possession.

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German players protest to no avail after Norwegian referee Rune Pedersen sent off Christian Wörz for their quarter-final clash against Croatia in Lyon. The Croats redrew the football map by beating Germany 3-0 with goals from Robert Jarni, Goran Vlaovic and Davor Suker

against a post with Van der Sar helpless.

During the 12 minutes in which they enjoyed numerical superiority, Argentina showed the same curious reluctance to launch an about assault as they had against the Dutch in England. But with both sides down to 10 men, and only 30 seconds left on the clock, Bergkamp delivered the coup de grace when he controlled a long diagonal pass from Frank de Boer with the most delicate

of touches, turned inside Roberto Ayala and used the outside of his right foot to strike the ball across goal and inside the far angle.

In the other quarter finals last week, at the Stade de France in Saint-Denis the agonising manner of France's 4-3 victory on penalties did nothing to obscure the fact that their adventurous football had deserved to prevail over Italy's caution.

Only after C-scare Maldini, Italy's captain, had replaced the mystifyingly ineffective Alessandro D'Alto with the experience and guile of Roberto Baggio did Italy begin to construct a reply to France's counter-attacks. But in a game of only two clear chances, one to each side, the outcome was destined to be decided by a shootout. Italy reserved its best player, the Roma midfielder, who side-footed his kick against the crossbar and sank to the turf in the knowledge that he had cost his country the chance of their fourth trophy.

Italy came closest to scoring in the 101st minute when D'Alto fired a gentle ball from the middle to the near post, where Baggio met the ball with a delicate volley that curled across the goal and just wide of the far post.

It was the match's most beautiful moment, and would have made a fitting winner. But France almost got one of their own late in extra time, when Youri Djorkaeff needed to meet Thierry Henry's diagonal pass but found Gianluca Pagliuca in his way.

In Nantes, Denmark took the lead after 90 seconds and recovered from two first-half strikes by Berbet and Rivaldo to draw level at 2-2 early in the second half, with a shot from Brian Laudrup. But a second goal for Baggio, scored on the hour, turned out to be the winner even though the outcome remained in doubt until the end, such was the strength of Denmark's refusal to admit defeat.

Even with 10 men England scored what looked like a winner late in the second half, only for Sol Campbell's header to be disallowed because of a foul by Alan Shearer on the Argentine goalkeeper.

In the first penalty shootout of the competition, England lost 4-3. Paul Ince was the first Englishman to fluff his kick.

SPORT 35

Cricket Third Test

England pass test of endurance

Mike Selvey at Old Trafford

FROM the most unpromising of beginnings, a memorable Test was played out at Old Trafford on Monday — perhaps even one of the greatest. Asked to hit out all but 35 minutes of the last two days to save the match, England drew with South Africa by the skin of their teeth thanks to a resounding action to remain 1-0 down in the series.

In the end, for all the resilience shown by those who had preceded him, England depended on the ability of Angus Fraser, a No 11 of no pretensions, to play six deliveries from Alan Donald, indisputably one of history's finest fast bowlers.

Set a first-innings target of 552 by South Africa, England had responded with an unimpressive 183, which meant they had to follow on. By Monday they had reached 389 for nine, wiping out the deficit so that at least South Africa would have to bat again and in the end, one run to win should the last wicket fall.

In theory there were four covers of the day remaining but in fact Donald had just six balls to set up the victory, as any portion of the counts as a whole one and two overs would go for the changeover of innings. So it was that Donald, having scored 100 runs, 30 wickets to take the last wicket, had to bowl his last ball.

After falling in his first five deliveries he turned in the end of his run, and wicketed Fraser before stalling in one final time. The Yorker, fast and with inswing, homed in to Fraser's leg, striking him on the pad. The impressionist appeal for that was rejected by the New Zealander Doug Cowie.

And, that according to the laws, should have been the end and a new match drawn, but in the confusion one more over was bowled though even if Fraser's partner Robert Croft had been out to the first ball, it would have counted as a full over and left no momentum for South Africa to change over.

The first two days will be remembered for Gary Kirsten's 210, achieved over the space of 652 minutes, the longest innings played between the two countries, and Jacques Kallis's 132.

South Africa: 552 for 5 dec; England: 183 and 389 for 9 Match drawn.

Erotic encounters of a monogamous libertine

John King

The Notebookbooks of Don Rigoberto
by Mario Vargas Llosa
translated by Edith Grossman
Faber 256pp £16.99

IN THE December 4, 1997, issue of the New York Review of Books, John Updike published an essay on the artist Egon Schiele, under the title — a gloss on Freud — "Can Genitals be Beautiful?". It is an article that would have attracted the attention of Don Rigoberto, Mario Vargas Llosa's most recent fictional hero, for several reasons.

Don Rigoberto, in his fastidiously organised Lima library full of precisely 4,000 books and 100 pictures, dedicates his free time away from his boring job as an insurance executive to the pursuit of beauty through the erotic arts. His notebookbooks are full of quotations, commentaries, fantasies and letters that he never sends. He reads Updike, calling him a "brilliant writer", but adding that "everything brilliant is ugly". He shares Updike's interest in the drawings of Schiele, but does not realise that his young son, the angelic/diabolic Alfonso (Poncho), is a growing obsession with the Viennese artist's life and work, imagining himself to

be Schiele's Peruvian reincarnation. This is the second time that the fictional triangle of Don Rigoberto, his estranged wife Dora Llerena and Poncho has appeared in a Vargas Llosa novel. Published a decade earlier, in *Praise of the Stepmother*, the young cherub Poncho was introduced us to the marital bliss of Don Rigoberto and his second wife, which was invaded by the mutual attraction of stepmother and stepson, the young cherub Poncho. The resulting sexual encounter tests the limits of Don Rigoberto's libertine imagination and the couple move apart.

In the 10 years it took to write the much more ambitious sequel, Vargas Llosa ran for the presidency in Peru, and in the electoral campaign the opposition parties would quote selectively from *In Praise Of The Stepmother*, asking why a writer with such a morally degenerate imagination should seek to become the father of the nation. He then wrote a massive autobiography, an intensely serious novel about terrorism in Peru, an academic study of the Peruvian writer José María Arguedas, and as well as keeping up a regular column for *El Peru* in Spain. Yet it was clear that Don Rigoberto had more fantasies to express, and in *The Notebookbooks* his imagination

— or is it his reality? — is given the most diverse expression.

As we have learnt to expect from a Vargas Llosa novel, there is no one single story line. Four narratives are initially counterpointed and then begin to blend, effortlessly, in one. Dora Llerena begins to receive visits from her stepson. She is still fascinated by him, but wary of his motives. He wants his parents back together and offers to act as a

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scenically, his anguished self-portraits, even down to the detail of small Bolivian and Peruvian dolls painted into the clothes of one of his most famous portraits of Friederike Beer. The boy-child is also anxious to use his stepmother and her maid to react some of the poses in his own illustrated books.

The second narrative strand is a series of unseen letters penned by Don Rigoberto where he lets off his steam against collective endeavour, from the Rotarians to sponsored, ecologists and animal rights supporters, and defends his own individual, erotic and aesthetic freedoms while abusing the pornography and exploitation of magazines such as Playboy.

The third strand finds Don Rigoberto in the midst of erotic encounters with his wife or of stories told to him by his wife. At first, the boundaries between reality and imagination are deliberately blurred, and only later that the episodes are revealed as increasingly desperate fantasies to fill the lonely hours of solitude, for Don Rigoberto has always been a monogamous libertine. In these, Don Rigoberto blends every memory and every visual and often old at his disposal, in his collection that ranges from high art and literature to Mexican movie drama, from Calderón de la Barca to a 18th-century foot fetishist.

Finally, there is a series of anonymous letters' letters. Will there be a reconciliation, will fantasy meet reality? Vargas Llosa is doing himself and has produced his funniest and most relaxed and since Alan Julia and the *Scriptwriter* (1977). But he has a number of sharp points to make about art and eroticism, fantasy, fiction and reality, and the creative architecture of fiction itself.

In answer to his question "Can Genitals be Beautiful?", Don Rigoberto, and perhaps Vargas Llosa would surely answer, it depends on who is creating, on who is seeing

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Sports Diary Shiv Sharma

New Zealander who dares wins 500cc race

ONION Crater of New Zealand's best the current 500cc motorcycle world champion, Michael Dunlop, to win the 1997 Grand Prix at Donington. Dunlop, 35, is a maverick, a prize fighter, his maiden race in his first season. Dunlop, 35, is a maverick, a prize fighter, his maiden race in his first season. Dunlop, 35, is a maverick, a prize fighter, his maiden race in his first season.

It was a day that did not expect to go so well. It was a day that did not expect to go so well. It was a day that did not expect to go so well. It was a day that did not expect to go so well.

THE Cable & Wireless Adventure, a 35-minute British production based on a 19th century diary, set a new round-the-world record when it arrived back in Gibraltar after circumnavigating the globe in 74 days, 20 hours and 58 minutes. Under the banner of the fictional Jules Verne's fictional ship, the *Nautilus*, the team set off in 1980 by the USS 7701.

INFORM CHRISTIE, Britain's former Olympic gold medalist and one of the finest athletes of his generation, was a pyrrhic victory in the action, won in London when a jury

agreed that he had been libelled by journalist John McVie, once the country's most wanted man.

The 38-year-old Christie said he was pleased with the \$70,000 damages awarded to him for allegations of drug-taking. But the case has proved a financial disaster for him. Under the terms of a complicated deal, he will have to pay \$150,000 in legal fees and faces the prospect of not recouping his own costs of about \$250,000.

DAVID CARTER was the Murphys' Irish Golf. Open in dramatic fashion at Druid's Glen,

hosting the European No 1 Colin Montgomerie at the first hole of a sudden-death play-off after finishing on a six-under-par 278. Carter, from Derbyshire, appeared to have thrown away the chance of a maiden European tour victory when he lost a four-shot lead with six holes to play. But after going into the water at the last hole, he needed to par to win the \$265,000 first prize — he sank a 20-foot bogey putt to force the play-off with a 71.

WALTER SMITH is Everton's new manager. He left Rangers at the end of last season, after guiding the Scottish club to nine Premier Division titles in a row. Smith replaces Howard Kendall, who parted company with the Merseyside club last month. Smith,

who signed a three-year contract worth around \$2.5 million, became the fourth manager at Goodison Park in chairman Peter Johnson's four-year reign, following in the footsteps of Mike Walker, Joe Royle and Kendall.

In other moves, Sheffield United appointed Steve Bruce as their player-manager for three years. The 38-year-old Manchester United captain will leave for the first time, then restrict himself to management.

John Hollins the former Chelsea and England player, resigned as assistant manager at Queen's Park Rangers to become Swansea City's first manager in two years.

Ricardo Gardner, the Jamaica goalkeeper, became the first of the home-grown Reserves Boys to move to Europe when he joined Bolton Wanderers for \$1.6 million.

Shiv Sharma